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THE LOCAL IMPACT OF UNDER-REALISATION OF THE LUMBINI MASTER PLAN: A FIELD REPORT

Kate Molesworth and Ulrike Müller-Böker

Introduction

Before 1967 when U Thant, as Secretary General of the United Nations visited Lumbini, very little action had been taken to preserve or develop the nativity site of Siddhartha Gautam, the Buddha.¹ As a consequence of Thant's distress at the state of the site and his drive to address the situation, the UN formed an international committee for the development of Lumbini in 1970. In 1972 UNDP commissioned Japanese architect Kenzo Tange to design a master plan for the development of Lumbini (Coningham and Milou 2000:18) with a budget of US\$ 6.5 million (LDT 2000). Tange submitted his completed master plan for the extensive development and preservation of the site as a centre of Buddhist pilgrimage and world tourism in 1978.

As a spiritual, historical and archaeological site, Lumbini is unique. It is of major global interest and importance, and was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1997 (UNESCO 1998:46). As such it has the potential to draw a substantial influx of visitors and revenue to this poor and under-developed area of Nepal. Indeed, one of the objectives set out in plans for developing the site was to encourage local economic development (Tange and URTEC 1977:7) by increasing the inflow of tourists and pilgrims into the area.

Although the development of the site was due for completion within seven years of its inception, almost a quarter of a century later, only some 20% of the master plan has been realised (Shrestha 2000:1). The slow rate of progress of the Lumbini development project has been linked to poor institutional organisation and inadequate funding (Lawson 1999). While reported patterns of changes in visitor numbers are unreliable due to a lack of credible recording, the development of tourism and pilgrimage has not met expectations.

The development of Lumbini has not been without controversy, both at the local and international level (Tripathi 2003; *Kathmandu Post* 2001; Poudel 2000; Lal 1999). While much of the literature concerns the project's lack of progress, its overall impact on local people has been neglected. This article examines the impact of the partial development of Lumbini on local people, in particular, those who originally lived within the area that now forms the master plan. It appraises the social and economic consequences of the master plan development on local livelihoods and access to natural resources.

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Methods

Both authors have made a number of visits to Lumbini over the years. Ulrike Müller-Böcker's first visit in Lumbini was in 1985. Later she supervised a preliminary study of pilgrimage and tourism in Lumbini in 1999/2000 conducted by Elenor Roy (Roy 2000).

Kate Molesworth first visited in the site in 1990, and like her co-author, observed the old Maya Devi Temple with pipal tree intact, together with the Sakya Tank prior to its most recent renovation. Her second visit, and the main body of fieldwork on which this article is based, was carried out in the spring of 2003. During this time interviews were conducted with donors, agencies and businesses associated with tourism and development of the site, the Lumbini Development Trust (LDT) (the transforming institution, which took over from the Lumbini Development Committee in 1985), local communities and business people, monastic institutions, development workers and refugees. Concurrent archive research was carried out on the documentation produced by Kenzo Tange Associates, the LDT and other institutions concerned in the development of Lumbini.

The historical discontinuity of Lumbini within the spiritual landscape

Although there is some disagreement among scholastic and Buddhist groups over the precise date of the nativity of the Buddha (Bechert 1995), there is general consensus that the location was in modern-day Lumbini, in Rupandehi District of Nepal, close to the Indian border. At the time of the birth of the Sakya Prince Siddhartha Gautama, his mother Queen Maya Devi was in transit between her marital home in Kapilavastu and her natal home in Devadaha (Bidari 2002:21). Early accounts such as that of Fa-Hsien around 400 AD, report that with the onset of labour, Maya Devi stopped at Lumbini, which at the time was a forest or garden of notable natural beauty (Falk 1998:3; Bidari 2002:23). There she bathed in nearby pond that according to Deeg (2003:17) was reported by Hsuan-Tsang² to have been known as "the bathing pool of the Sakya"³ and delivered her child in a wooded area, supported by the branches of a tree (Giles 1972). After the birth, she bathed in the nearby Telar River, noted for the oily consistency of its water (Watters 1961).

The nativity, regarded by many to have taken place in 623 BC (Mahasthavir and Bajracharya 2000:1; Gurung 1999:22-23) was within subsequent centuries, marked by a number of extant artefacts and described in contemporaneous travelogues. The earliest and perhaps most reliable marker of the site is the stone pillar erected in 249 BC (Gurung 1999:23) by Ashoka Emperor of Maurya⁴ illustrated by Plate 1. Although translations of the pillar's Brahmi inscription vary somewhat, it provides a clear statement relating to its date and the significance of the site as the birthplace of the Buddha (Falk 1998: 15-16). This and other monuments were also referred to

in reports written by early pilgrims to the site, most notably the Chinese monks Fa-Hsien and Hsuan-Tsang⁵ (Deeg 2003:17-23) who documented pilgrimages made to Lumbini in AD 403 and 636 respectively. Because of the preservation of their pilgrimage accounts, it was later possible for the location of Lumbini to be identified centuries after its abandonment and disappearance from the modern cultural and spiritual landscape.

Between the documented visit of Ripu Malla ruler of western Nepal in the early fourteenth century⁶ (which along with Ashoka's visit was marked with an inscription on the Ashoka Pillar) and excavation of the pillar leading to the site's rediscovery in 1896, the location of Lumbini became lost. There is no conclusive evidence as to why such an important pilgrimage site became abandoned, overgrown and ultimately forgotten. Muslim incursions and the restoration of Hinduism have been suggested as possible human contributing factors (Pandey 1985:52) and natural occurrences including earthquake, flood and malaria as natural causes (Falk 1998:3; Bidari 2002:80).



Plate 1: *The Askoka Pillar photographed in 1990.*

Whatever the cause or combination of causal factors, Lumbini's disappearance from the physical landscape and its situation in a remote area of a kingdom closed to outsiders until the mid-twentieth century has led to a general lack of awareness of Lumbini that persists today. Indeed, for the numerous backpackers and tourists who visit Nepal's historical sites and natural landscape, Lumbini is not part of their travel itinerary. Until recently, very few international travel guides mentioned Lumbini at all and those that now do, tend not to give it a high profile. Consequentially, many foreign visitors leave Nepal in ignorance of the fact that they have visited the land of the Buddha's birth.

Before his death, the Buddha made a clear pronouncement on the importance of pilgrimage to four locations relating to key events in his life and spiritual development. These are set out in the *Dighanikaya*:⁷

There are, O monks, four places on earth which a believing householder's son or a believing householder's daughter should commemorate as long as they live. Which are those four? Here the Venerable One has been born - here the Venerable One has attained the unsurpassable complete enlightenment - here the Venerable One has turned the threefold-turning, twelve-spoked lawful wheel - here the Venerable One has gone to the realm of complete nirvana. After my death, O monks, there (people) will come to circumambulate (my) caityas, venerate (my) caityas, saying: "Here the Venerable One has been born - here the Venerable One has attained the unsurpassable complete enlightenment - here the Venerable One has turned the threefold, twelve-spoked lawful wheel - here the Venerable One has gone to the realm of complete nirvana." Whoever (of these) fully appeased with regard to me dies there - all those will go to heaven with a rest (of karmatic substance).⁸

This passage illustrates the Buddha's prescription for his followers to visit the place of his birth (Lumbini), enlightenment (Bodh Gaya), first teaching (Sarnath) and death (Kushinagar). While Bodh Gaya, Sarnath and Kushinagar are located in northern India, Lumbini is the only one of the four key Buddhist pilgrimage sites to be situated in modern Nepal. It is unique within the kingdom and has the inherent potential to become a primary pilgrimage site for Buddhists worldwide.

Early documented visits to Lumbini serve to illustrate that prior to its "disappearance" after the fourteenth century, pilgrimage to the Buddha's nativity site was indeed undertaken. In spite of several centuries of discontinuity in Buddhist pilgrimage to Lumbini, the Buddha's pronouncements regarding pilgrimage, together with the importance of Buddhism in south Asia, presents a strong draw for visitors. Together with the global expansion of the popularity of Buddhism as a spiritual and

academic interest, Lumbini has great potential to attract international visitors to the area.

While the loss of the nativity site location will have greatly contributed to its current lower visitor numbers than the three Indian pilgrimage sites named by the Buddha, other factors have been implicated. As part of a comprehensive appraisal of the Lumbini development and its potential commissioned by UNDP in 1999, Dhakal suggests that the greater success of the other three pilgrimage sites might be due to additional factors:

Bodhgaya [sic], Sarnath and Kushinagar ... lie in India. These places are better presented in the interest of pilgrims and tourists, host significantly more number [sic] of tourists in quantitative and qualitative terms and are more aggressively projected in the international tourist market... The Nepalese side lacks a coherent approach to preserving these sites to potential tourists of Buddhist interest. There have been very limited efforts in systematic excavation of sites, historical and archaeological researches, publicity, promotion and creation of requisite infrastructure and superstructure to assertively project all the important archaeological, historical places related to Buddha's life lying on the Nepalese territory. As for the relative merit of these sites, archaeological, historical and documentary evidence is a sufficient testimony, which, however need broader publicity both at home and abroad. (1999:12-13)

Dhakal's appraisal indicates that even though pilgrimage is an important feature of Buddhist practice, compared with the three sites in India, Lumbini has been poorly preserved, developed or packaged. As a consequence, the influx of visitors and their impact on the local economy has fallen far short of expectations. In the following section we set out a brief overview of the intended development of Lumbini and discuss how implementation of the plan has impacted upon local communities.

Kenzo Tange's master plan and Lumbini's development

By the end of the nineteenth century when the Buddha's nativity site was rediscovered, very few of the local population were themselves Buddhist. Quantitative data collected a century later (Upadhyay 1999:7) found local communities to comprise primarily of Hindus (53%) and Muslims (42%). Only a minority (5%) of the local population are themselves Buddhist. During the centuries following the abandonment of the site as a place of Buddhist pilgrimage, villages arose in close proximity to and on top of ancient Lumbini's remains. Figure 2 maps out the location of seven settlements that existed within the core of the designated master plan area at the time of its design. Many of the original inhabitants were traditionally

subsistence farmers, however, Lumbini Bazaar previously located on the site of the Sacred Garden, was a settlement of traders and shopkeepers.

Tange's 1978 master plan proposed that 25 square miles of land would be incorporated into the overall development area (Tange and URTEC 1978:3). The central three square miles containing the most important archaeological monuments were to receive the greatest development input, with surrounding areas forming controlled development, conservation areas and parklands, surrounded by an outer agricultural buffer zone. The design concept was based upon a combination of Buddhist symbolism and ideology, "The form of a circle enclosing squares embodies the mystic symbol of the universe in the [sic] Buddhism with purity and simplicity" (Tange and URTEC 1978:19-20). It also incorporated the environmental context of Lumbini at the time of the Buddha's nativity. Tange's design for the master plan conceived that a substantial area of land would be returned to forest (Tange and URTEC 1978:62-63). A number of species were selected for their religious and historical significance, in addition to others chosen for their "... landscape effect, growth speed and availability" (Tange and URTEC 1978:63). These included *Shorea robusta* (the sal tree), *Saracca indica* (the Ashoka tree), *Cassia fistula* (Indian laburnum), *Delonix regia*, *Cassia javanica* and *Anthocephalus cadamba*. In the early stages of the development, the core master plan area was extensively planted with 500,000 saplings (Rising Nepal 2000). In addition to species set out in the master plan, fruit trees including mango and guava together with sisau (*Dalbergia sisoo*), a tree used for fuel and timber have been incorporated in the landscaping of the site.

The Monastic Enclave itself comprises two zones of monasteries of the Mahayana school in the western portion and institutions of the Theravada school in the east. In Tange's master plan concept a total of 42 plots were assigned for monasteries and two for meditation centres. In the period 1993-6, eighteen Buddhist organisations had signed agreements to lease plots from the LDT (Gurung 1999). In the spring of 2003 the monastic zone comprised a mixture of completed structures and fully functioning institutions, buildings under construction and vacant plots (these are illustrated in Figure 1).

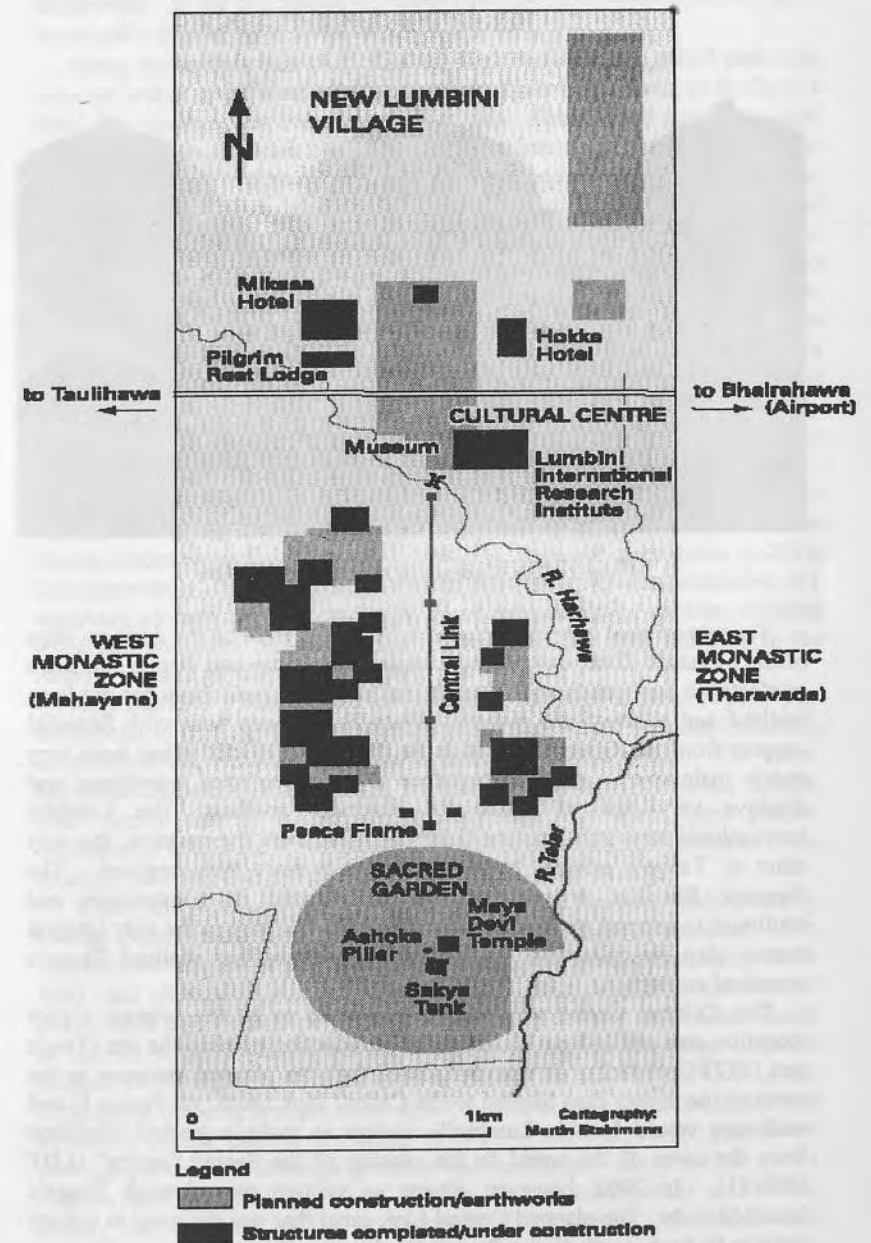


Figure 1: The Lumbini master plan.

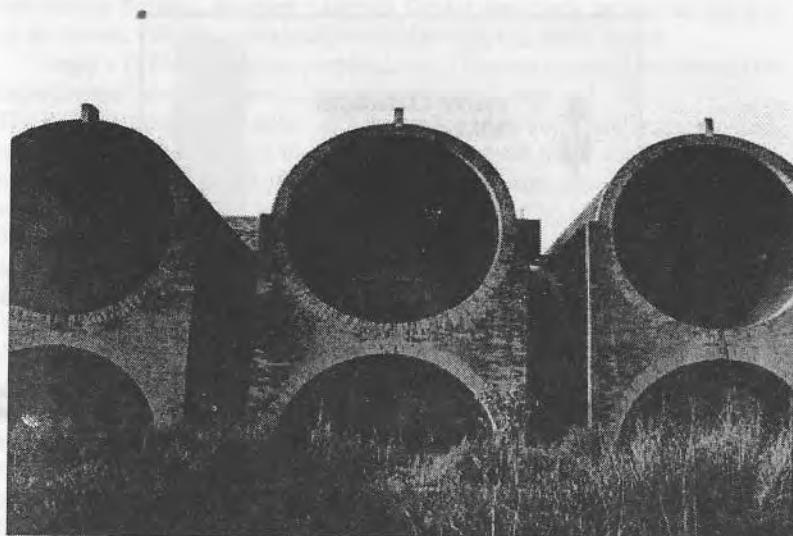


Plate 2: *The Museum in the Cultural Centre*

Tange's original concept included a Cultural Centre on the northern edge of the Monastic Zone, comprising a museum to house and display the site's artefacts, an auditorium and research institute. The auditorium has not been realised and although the museum (Plate 2) has been built with financial support from the Government of India (Pradhan 1999:9), it has been very poorly maintained. As a consequence it has a neglected appearance and displays very few of Lumbini's historical artefacts. The Lumbini International Research Institute (LIRI) is, apart from the museum, the only other of Tange's original building designs to have been realised. The Japanese Buddhist organisation Reiyukai funded its construction and continues to support its functioning. The LIRI building is the only integral master plan structure that is well maintained and has realised Tange's structural concept.

The Cultural Centre was originally planned to be the primary visitor reception area and to form a considered introduction point to the site (Tange and URTEC 1978:2). It was envisioned that the planned entrance in the north of the master plan leading to the Central Link canal (see Figure 1) and walkways would "enable Lumbini's visitors to make a gradual transition from the cares of the world to the sanctity of the Sacred Garden" (LDT 1990:11). In 2003, however, almost no visitors pass through Tange's intended route. The planned Central Link canal that was designed to convey visitors by boat, south to the Sacred Garden, is evident only as preliminary

earthworks. In the dry season of March/April 2003, it contained water only in naturally marshy areas along its 1,474 metres.

Along the western side of the Central Link earthworks, a gravel path runs from the bridge constructed over the Harhawa River in the north, to the Sacred Garden at the southern end of the master plan. This is used mostly by local cyclists, travelling to work on monastery construction sites, who have created dirt tracks from the Bhairahawa – Taulihawa Road in the north, to access the Monastic Zone. Occasionally visitors to the monasteries and the Sacred Garden are conveyed by bicycle rickshaw along the dirt tracks and gravel path that run along the Central Link. A few local people walk along this route to access the site or as a shortcut to villages to the east of the master plan. However, very few foreign visitors are seen on foot using the avenue that was originally conceived to be the main entrance to Lumbini. Contrary to Tange's concept, the walkways are used by motorised vehicles. Pedestrians using the walkways as the design intended, encounter heavy dust clouds produced by private cars, tourist buses and construction vehicles that speed along the gravel path.

Essential facilities that were planned to support the use of this path as the main route into the site, including benches, drinking water and toilets at resting places along the route (LDT 1990:11), were not in evidence in 2003. Consequentially, the Central Link and its pathway have the atmosphere of a neglected by-path, plied sporadically by occasional racing vehicles creating noise and pollution, rather than the intended tranquil main entrance to the nativity site of a global spiritual figure.

New Lumbini Village in the northern-most sector of the master plan was envisioned to be a complex of administrative and visitor services including accommodation, restaurants, a health centre, and post office. The basic infrastructure and public services planned in this zone, however, remain undeveloped and it is pertinent that during fieldwork local people encountered within the New Lumbini Village area, when questioned as to its location, said they had no knowledge of *Naya Lumbini Gaun*.¹⁰

Within the New Lumbini Village zone only developments undertaken by foreign organisations and private enterprises have been completed. The Japanese-owned four-star Hokke Club Hotel has been functioning since 1991, and although it endures long periods without substantial numbers of guests, staff also experience intermittent bursts of activity when coach-loads of tourists arrive for a night's stay. Although the middle-range Lumbini Mikasa Hotel was close to completion during the late 1990s, due to the stoppage of building brought about by a business dispute, it has never opened to receive guests. During the spring of 2003 it had a pervasive abandoned atmosphere over its unkempt grounds and buildings. Construction of the Pilgrim Rest Lodge, designed to provide for the lower-priced end of the sector, was financed by the government of Sri Lanka and leased to a

Nepalese entrepreneur. Although it was open to visitors, the building was in a poor state of maintenance, with a dishevelled appearance and dejected atmosphere. Tange's 1978 master plan was designed with the assumption that there would be a marked increase in visitor numbers and that 75% of these would stay overnight (Tange and URTEC 1978:11,13), although observations suggest that only a fraction of visitors spend more than a few hours at the site (JICA 2001:5-3; Roy 2000).

Costs and consequences of the master plan

Revised cost estimates for completion of the entire master plan are in the region of US\$ 57 (Gurung 1999:33) to US\$ 75 million (UNESCO 1995:95). However, clear, consistent accounts of the actual expenditure to date on the Lumbini development have proven elusive. The government of Nepal, itself, is believed to have invested approximately US\$ 10 million in Lumbini to date, with NR¹¹ 40 million (approximately half a million US\$) of the 2001/2 budget allocated towards the rebuilding of the Maya Devi Temple. Using LDT archive data we estimate that expenditure on basic infrastructure, earthworks, river diversion and the Cultural Centre to be in excess of 18 million US\$. This conservative estimate represents expenditure on public buildings, rather than those of private enterprise and monastic institutions. While it might be argued that there is very little visible development for such a high financial outlay, the human cost of Lumbini's development, also hidden from view, has nevertheless been substantial.

Communities displaced by the master plan

When the master plan was designed, land comprising the main development area was home to over a thousand people (Tange and URTEC 1978:4) living in and farming around seven villages (LDT 2000:5). The master plan required that all residents left the area: "It has been decided that the inhabitants of these villages will be resettled and paid compensation, in order to make way for the Lumbini Development" (Tange and URTEC 1978:4). Figure 2 illustrates the community landscape prior to and following clearance required by the Lumbini master plan.

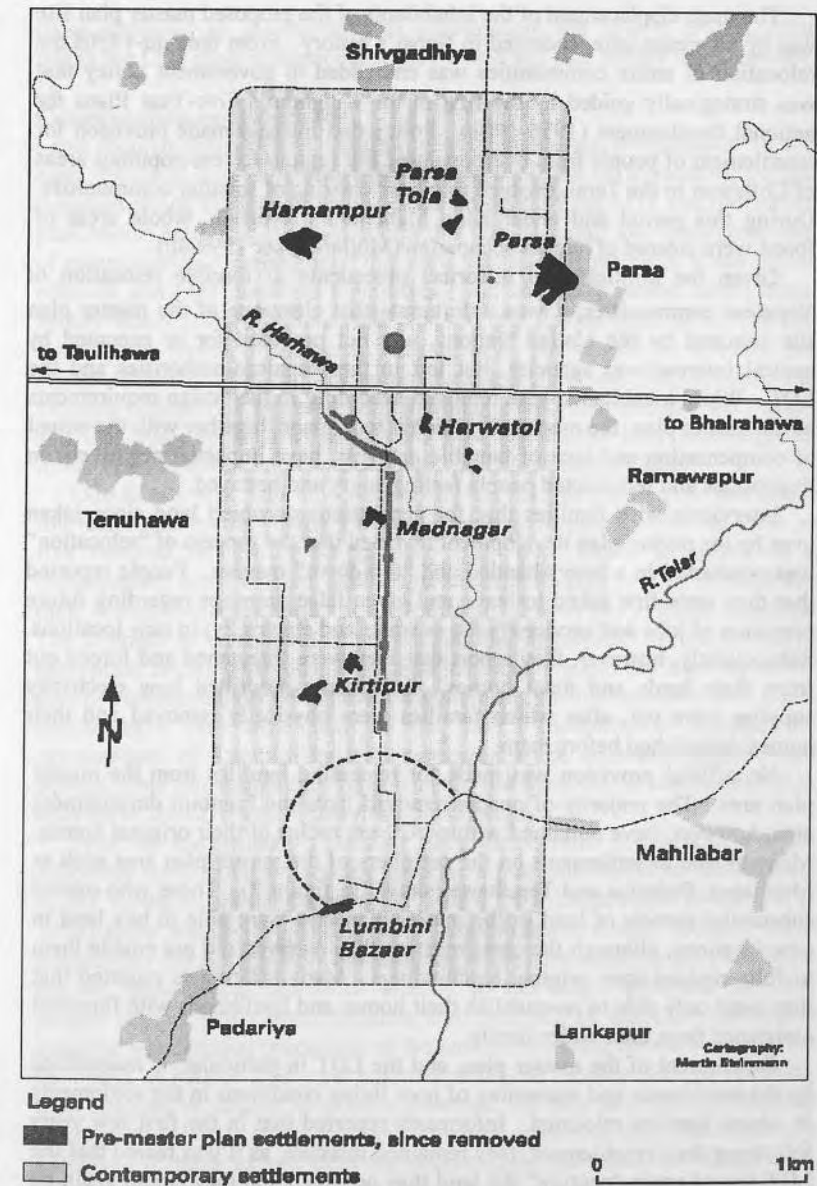


Figure 2: The community landscape of the area prior to and following the commencement of works on the Lumbini Development.

The mass displacement of the inhabitants of the proposed master plan site was by no means unprecedented in Nepal's history. From the mid-1950s the relocation of entire communities was embedded in government policy that was strategically guided by the first of the Kingdom's Five-Year Plans for national development (1956-1961). Policy that initially made provision for resettlement of people from overpopulated hill regions to less-populous areas of Chitawan in the Terai, evolved into later clearing of squatter communities. During this period and under King Mahendra's direction, whole areas of forest were cleared of human occupation (Müller-Böker 1999:40).

Given the political and historical precedents of forcible relocation of Nepalese communities, it was unfortunate that clearance of the master plan site initiated by the United Nations, was not provided for or executed by neutral international agencies, but left to the Nepalese authorities and the LDT. While inhabitants were removed according to the design requirements of the master plan, the manner in which it took place, together with the extent of compensation and lack of tangible progress, have impacted negatively on livelihoods and left evicted people feeling angry and betrayed.

Interviews with families that for generations occupied land since taken over by the master plan development revealed that the process of "relocation" was conducted in a heavy-handed and "top-down" manner. People reported that they were first asked to leave and given false promises regarding future provision of jobs and services (such as water and electricity) in new locations. Subsequently, however, they report that they were threatened and forced out from their lands and natal homes. Informants described how electricity supplies were cut, after which families were physically removed and their homes demolished before them.

No official provision was made for relocating families from the master plan area. The majority of people removed from the Lumbini development area, however, have remained within a 20 km radius of their original homes. Many moved to settlements on the periphery of the master plan area such as Mahilabar, Padariya and Tenuhawa (shown in figure 2). Those who owned substantial parcels of land in the master plan area were able to buy land in new locations, although the compensation they received did not enable them to fully replace their original landholdings. Many informants reported that they were only able to re-establish their homes and livelihoods with financial assistance from their wider family.

Resentment of the master plan, and the LDT in particular, is maintained by the persistence and worsening of poor living conditions in the settlements in which families relocated. Informants reported that in the first few years following their resettlement, they remained insecure, as it was feared that the LDT would again "capture" the land they occupied and they would again be evicted. It was not until after the introduction of democracy in 1990 that

those displaced by the master plan development felt able to protest, after which the LDT gave assurance that they would not face further displacement.

Compensation and relocation

Land requisitioned for the Lumbini development was compensated in the early 1980s at a rate of NR 1,000 per *bigha* (0.68 of a hectare). People maintain strong feelings of having been wronged by the LDT and the master plan, which arise from the perception this was an unfair and inadequate rate of compensation. Interestingly, this view was also expressed by a number of officials and LDT members themselves, who wished to remain anonymous. Müller-Böker (1999:42) notes that in 1986, the market price of land in the Inner Terai region of Chitawan was between NR 60,000 to 150,000 per *bigha*. While this region lies approximately 100km east of Lumbini, the extreme differential between Müller-Böker's recorded land market values and that made to landowners evicted from the master plan area supports informants' opinions that compensation was below market rates.

One family was paid only NR 14,000 for 0.15 of a *bigha* of land and a fourteen-room house. Other landless people were paid as little as three to five hundred rupees for the property they were forced to leave. As a consequence, many evicted families have not been able to fully re-establish their homes, business, farms and livelihoods to their pre-eviction standard. The strength of resentment is maintained and aggravated by the pervasive perception among local people of underhand dealing and profiteering on the part of representatives of the main transforming institution, the LDT. Local people have very little faith in the LDT's capability to manage the development of Lumbini as it is perceived to be both disorganised and corrupt. One female teashop proprietor on the periphery of the master plan referred to the LDT as a "money sick" institution.

Prior to the palace conceding to a democratic multi-party system, following the popular democracy movement that culminated in mass protest in the spring of 1990 (Gellner 1997:166-7; US Department of the Army 1993) there was a very low level of empowerment among ordinary local people who did not feel able to challenge authorities. During the *Panchayat* regime, when Nepal was ruled directly by the king (Whelpton 1997:47) people believe that certain officials and members of the LDT personally acquired a substantial proportion of the land surrounding the master plan. As the value of land in this zone has risen with the development of Lumbini, their speculative actions have been rewarded and they have become wealthy landowners. While officers of the Lumbini's transforming institution are perceived to have gained from the master plan, the economic situation of relocated families has deteriorated. Many families that farmed their own land within the master plan area, have become landless, waged farm labourers since their land was requisitioned. While wealthier families were able to

purchase adequate land to farm outside the master plan area, the lesser amounts of compensation received by smaller landowners reduced them to landlessness. The meagre amounts paid to landless families who were evicted from rented homes compounded their poverty and increased the economic disparities within local communities. Even landed and mercantile families that received more substantial financial compensation experienced deterioration in their standard of living. Unifying the various social and economic strata of local communities is the perception of the economic rise of outsiders and officials, whom they regard to have profited from land speculation and rising prices.

Chronic problems relating to the supply of services such as water and electricity to relocated households continue to act as a source of tension and dissatisfaction between families displaced by the master plan and the LDT. The area around Lumbini is naturally marshy and suffers from inundation and a high water table (Nippon Koei 2001). In some of the villages on the periphery of the master plan the quality of drinking water is poor and the majority of people cannot afford to purify it adequately. Although some NGOs have attempted to resolve the problem by installing hand pumps that enable water to be sourced from 2-300m below ground, the deep water has been found to contain high levels of arsenic (NRCS 2001). Villagers remain angry that they were promised service provision upon relocation, but continue to suffer from inadequate water and power supplies.

Some re-settlers, such as those that moved to Mahilabar, have themselves had to cope with problems associated with later waves of settlers. In recent years ethnic Nepalese driven from their homes in Assam¹² by civil unrest and racial attacks related to high unemployment, crossed the border back into Nepal as refugees. Of the many refugees that initially made their way to the regional town of Butwal, the authorities placed a proportion in Mahilabar village on the eastern periphery of the master plan (shown in figure 2). The more recent establishment of 90 landless refugee households in Mahilabar has placed additional pressure on the limited wage-labour market. Discord has arisen between refugee and more formally established households concerning the occupation of land. Because the refugees were not officially resettled in Mahilabar, families have no option but to build their mud houses on public and common land at the side of roads and on public tracks. Although there is a reasonable level of understanding that the responsibility for the refugees' resettlement lies with the authorities, there is friction between the different settler groups within the village. Disputes persist between residents regarding the perception that refugees' dwellings constrict public rights of way, such as the dirt track that runs through Mahilabar village. This is not only a problem of access, but landlords perceive that the way in which refugees have constructed their homes has caused the value of their land to fall.



Plate 3: Refugee mud and thatch dwellings (left) stand next to brick houses (right) of longer-term Mahilabar residents.

The already poor service supplies to the village have been placed under further strain by the needs of refugee households. As the electricity company will not supply power to mud dwellings erected by the refugees, they are forced to "sublet" supplies from neighbouring brick houses in the village. Because the refugees' supplies are unofficial and un-metered, the rates they are charged are fixed by individual suppliers. Consequently refugees believe they are charged at excessively high rates, which is a further source of discord with which relocated master plan families and refugees must contend.

Impact of the Lumbini development on local livelihood opportunities and enterprise development

The difficulties with which families displaced from the master plan have had to contend are also aggravated by a number of factors that have impacted upon livelihoods. These have had different consequences depending upon households' initial assets and economic situation.

Displaced people of all socio-economic strata agree that economic opportunities promised by the implementing authorities at the time of their eviction have failed to materialise. Some families who owned more

substantial land and property within the master plan area were able to re-establish businesses and farms, albeit to a lesser extent than their original concerns. One informant described how for generations his family ran a thriving store in Lumbini Bazaar (shown in Figure 2), which was demolished to enable the excavation and restoration of the Sacred Garden. While compensation for the family's substantial land and property holdings did not enable them to purchase equivalent assets outside the master plan, they were able to establish their household and a shop in one of the villages on the periphery of the Lumbini development site. The informant was embittered because the income generated by the shop established at the new location was lower than it had been in old Lumbini Bazaar. As the master plan has developed and new business opportunities arisen within it (such as snack, *paan*¹³ and souvenir stalls in the market in the car park to the east of the Sacred Garden) the family have failed to secure a niche within the site from the LDT. This is a protracted source of considerable anger, as the household head remarked: "We gave up our land and home to the LDT, but they do not allow us inside [the master plan to conduct business]. Buddha is the god of peace, but we are suffering for this project."

While the LDT as the transforming institution of Lumbini is held responsible for the lack of development of livelihoods by many local people, some of the more recently established spiritual institutions are also coming under criticism from local entrepreneurs. Some monasteries have constructed simple accommodation, which is offered to pilgrims and visitors. Financing arrangements are commonly donation based, however, some view these institutions to profit from their location in a way that local people are unable to equally participate. This view is shared by incoming hoteliers, who regard their substantial investments to be threatened by what they perceive to be business competition on the part of monasteries, who due to their prime location have an unfair advantage.

A limited number of small enterprise opportunities have emerged with development of the Buddha's nativity site. A few rickshaw-pullers work within the master plan area itself, but because the majority of visitors arrive by motorised transport and visit mainly the Sacred Garden, just a few minutes walk from the vehicle park, there is not a great demand for their services. A handful of individual entrepreneurs sell *lassi*¹⁴ and ice cream at the entrance to the Sacred Garden, although the majority of visitors, who are foreign Asian pilgrims, tend to purchase cold drinks and snacks from the single restaurant near the car park.

The main entrepreneurial niche that has opened up with the master plan development has been the twenty-five souvenir and three snack stalls in the visitor vehicle park near the Sacred Garden. Stalls (see Plate 4) are run by local owner-traders of a number of castes and religions, the vast majority of whom are male. Female members contribute to the family enterprise from

home by packaging sweets, *tika*¹⁵ powder and popped maize, and making bead necklaces and bracelets. In this way a single stall can generate enough revenue to maintain a household. Income from the stalls, however, is highly variable throughout the year, as visitor numbers fall as the temperature rises in the summer and are highly sensitive to the insecure political situation since the Maoist insurgency took hold in the mid 1990s. In spite of this, stalls remain open year round and trade from around six in the morning until between seven and ten at night.



Plate 4: A souvenir stall in the official master plan market

Since the inception of the Tourism for Rural Poverty Alleviation Programme (TRPAP) in 2001 (implemented by the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation and supported by UNDP, DFID¹⁶ and SNV¹⁷) seven VDCs¹⁸ surrounding Lumbini have, together with six other national sites, been included in the pilot phase of the programme (TRPAP 2003:8). As part of local activities, TRPAP social mobilisers provide business advice to stallholders and work to encourage local craft production and their sale within the master plan. Although TRPAP was in consultation with both the

LDT and the official master plan market traders and had concentrated efforts on developing grass-weaving skills and adapting traditional product designs to the tourist market, in the spring of 2003 there were very few locally produced crafts on sale.

In the Lumbini souvenir market the majority of goods sold on the souvenir stalls are imported from Kathmandu and India (Varansi in particular). Stallholders report the most popular items they sell to be "sandalwood" *malas* (scented wooden-beaded rosaries), bead bracelets and cast metal images of the Buddha made in Lalitpur in the Kathmandu Valley. *Thankas*, hand painted canvas scrolls depicting Buddhist images sourced in Kathmandu are particularly popular among Taiwanese and Thai souvenir-hunters. Tourists tend to buy more goods than pilgrims, and Korean, Thai and Japanese visitors pay the best prices and spend more money than other nationalities. Europeans, who form the minority of visitors to Lumbini, spend the least according to the stallholders. The stallholders in the master plan commented that the simple small woven mats and coasters produced locally with TRPAP support were not in great demand. It was observed, however, that very few were visibly for sale on the stalls and were not actively promoted as locally produced, which might potentially increase their attractiveness within the tourist market.

Many local business people expressed the ambition to have stall within the master plan and as the LDT limits the volume of traders, competition for economic niches within the site is high. However, those who succeed in renting a stall in the official market in the master plan car park say they struggle to pay unofficial "tender" fees and meet the rising pitch rental. In the spring of 2003, the monthly ground rent for a stall was NR 2,225, plus a NR 200-225 monthly fee for electricity for two light bulbs. Stallholders expressed feelings of insecurity as the LDT has raised the ground rent in the past and had additionally proposed that it be increased to NR 3,500 per month. Although the stallholders have formed a cohesive traders group and protest at what they consider to be unfair rent increases, they do not feel they have much bargaining power as there are many people who are waiting to fill any openings in the master plan souvenir market. Stallholders report that paying rent in the summer months is particularly difficult due to the marked decline in visitor numbers and trade. When stallholders' rent falls into arrears, the LDT prevents them from trading by locking down stalls until the debt is paid and continuing defaulters are evicted. To avoid this situation and maintain livelihoods throughout the summer, many stallholders have adopted the strategy of moving their businesses to *melas* (fairs) around the country, although this too is hampered by the increasing insecurity of the Maoist insurgency.

In recent years an increasing number of unofficial souvenir "stalls" have started trading further within in the Sacred Garden and outside monasteries.

They most comprise a small number of goods that are usually displayed on a cloth placed on the ground that is packed away at the end of each day's trading. Stallholders who pay rent for official pitches in the master plan car park market claim that hawkers pay bribes to LDT officials, who turn a "blind eye" to their illegal trading activities. Market traders expressed the need for the LDT to fix a fair ground rent for stalls, enforce trading regulations and keep trading to officially designated areas. They also feel that the LDT should be more active in promoting Lumbini and encouraging visitors to stay overnight at the site, which would improve stallholders' incomes and those of many other sectors of the local community.

A major constraint shared by local people seeking waged-labour and emerging employers within the master plan, is the lack of required skills and the poor level of education locally. Well-remunerated skilled jobs that have been created with the development of the master plan, especially in the construction sector and the hotel and tourist industry, have been filled not by local people, but by better-qualified and experienced staff from Kathmandu and Pokhara. While hotel managers interviewed during fieldwork expressed the desire to train and develop the local skill-base, the fact that very few visitors stay over night in Lumbini and that political instability has reduced visitor numbers, contributes to the hotels' inability to reach profit and markedly reduces their staffing needs.

The Lumbini International Research Institute employs a number of local people in a range of positions, including cooks, cleaners, gardeners, security guards, and drivers, together with two library staff. The LDT itself employs local people for unskilled and semi-skilled positions such as security guards, car park attendants and clerks, but better paid, skilled jobs tend to be filled by outsiders.

The monasteries themselves have opened up new livelihood opportunities within the master plan area, which are concentrated at the unskilled end of the labour market. While, due to the lack of local availability, engineers and skilled construction personnel tend to be hired in (as has been the case with hotel-building and initial staffing), monastic institutions offer waged labour for the poorest strata of local society. While the extensive construction phase of the monastic zone is finite, it offers several years employment for a substantial proportion of the local labour pool. In the long term, monasteries employ local support staff as cleaners, sweepers and cooks as well as for building maintenance and running repairs.

Some of the Buddhist institutions have also responded to unmet needs of the most disadvantaged people in the area. Several, including the International Buddhist Federation (IBF), Lumbini Buddha Bihar and the Linh Son Temple offer free health care through purpose-built clinics and employ health workers who prescribe free medication and refer patients to specialists. From our fieldwork observations, we estimate that together these clinics

serve an average of 100 patients each day. In some cases these Buddhist organisations arrange transport and financial support of cases they refer for specialist treatment and care. This buffers the morbidity of people who rely on a daily wage and enables them to maintain their most valuable livelihood asset – their health – on which their capacity to work depends.

Linh Son Temple has addressed the need for skilled health workers by supporting five orphaned girls from marginalised communities to train as Assistant Nurse Midwives, who when qualified will practice in their communities in the Lumbini area. A number of Buddhist institutions conduct regular outreach activities targeting the most disadvantaged of Lumbini's communities. The IBF funds local manufacture and placement of filtering water pumps that have been designed to counteract the effects of microbiological and chemical pollution, arsenic being in particularly high concentrations in local drinking water sources (SAWTEE 2003: 22; NRCS 2001). Linh Son Temple annually donates three hundred blankets and warm clothing the poorest for the winter and directly supports 22 extremely deprived families, including a blind couple, with bi-monthly supplies of 7 kg of rice and NR 50 cash and new clothes annually. An additional 60 families are supplied with rice and cash support during the monsoon, when there is inadequate wage labour to meet their basic needs. In an attempt to address the necessity for sustained, long-term livelihoods for poor people lacking capital as well as that for pollution-free transport around Lumbini, the monastery has provided 39 families with their own, new rickshaws with which they are able to develop their livelihoods.

The World Food programme (WFP) also became involved in the Lumbini development project in the 1980s, offering food for labour during construction of the earthworks for the Telar River diversion, the Central Link canal and flood control levee as well as roads within and around the Sacred Garden (LDT 1990:8). Local people report that the programme had a positive impact upon their livelihoods for the eight years or so that they were able to take work "carrying mud on our heads". They recount how each worker received five rupees cash, two kilograms of wheat, 200g of *dal*¹⁹ and 100g of oil for each day's work, which provided a secure source of basic food requirements. However, auditing revealed accounting discrepancies and misappropriation of foods, which prompted the programme to withdraw. After this the poorest sectors of the local population have struggled to maintain their livelihoods within the restricted local wage-labour market.

Access to and management of natural resources

Prior to the development of the master plan, the site was an important source of natural resources, such as grasses, wood, mud, which have remained central to the livelihoods of many local people. In common with other Nepalese communities whose traditional homelands have been transformed

into conservation reserves or national parks (Gurung 1998:143), when Lumbini came under development, local people lost direct access to natural resources within the development area. In order to preserve the landscaping plantations and natural flora and fauna of the master plan, the LDT adopted a strategy of contracting out management of the site's natural resources. This was intended to both manage the natural environment and regulate local people's use of its natural assets. Grasses, for example, were managed and harvested by the contractor to reduce the incidence of fires and sold on to local people and a paper-making factory.

Given that prior to the development of Lumbini, there was free access to its natural resources, local people perceive the development and its transforming institution, the LDT, to have acted to constrain this traditional right. As a consequence, conflict has arisen between the LDT's responsibility to preserve the landscaping of the master plan and the requirements of local people for its natural assets, including forest products, wood, grasses and grazing.

In recent years, however, a dispute between the LDT and its contracting agent has led to a breakdown in the management of the natural environment and just as the progress of the master plan has stagnated, natural resource management has also come to a standstill. This has consequences for the natural environment of the master plan area and threatens the sustainability of its natural resources. The unmanaged parklands have uncontrolled growth of tall and abundant grasslands that renders flora and fauna highly vulnerable to fire. Outbreaks are not uncommon as was observed in the course of fieldwork in 2003, following a lightning strike.

In response to the breakdown of institutionally regulated access to the master plan's natural resources, local people have adopted other strategies to acquire the products and materials they require. While some people report making payments to the LDT in exchange for collecting forest and park resources, the majority take what they can while they are able to access it and pay unofficial "fines" to LDT personnel if they are caught. Cattle can be observed openly being grazed throughout the master plan area, including the Crane Sanctuary in the north. Local people report that certain LDT guards confiscate cattle they encounter on the site and impose a fee for their release of approximately NR 100 per head of cattle. Tall grasses, leaves and wood are also collected for a wide range of uses including animal fodder, fuel, construction and craft materials. In response to the disintegration of natural resource management of the area, many local people exploit what they perceive to be a temporary increase in freedom of access to the full. Consequently the forests and parklands of Lumbini have become a free-for-all and natural resources are exploited in an un-regulated and often non-sustaining manner.

The extensive tree plantations undertaken in the early phase of the development throughout the core master plan have become particularly vulnerable due to the lack of effective protection. People from surrounding villages use a technique of ringing the bark of trees to kill them, rendering them easier to remove and use for fuel. Trees are also sustaining damage from an increasing number of people climbing them to collect their fruit and flowers. It is estimated that of the 500,000 saplings planted according to Tange's design concept, only 191,000 survived to the new millennium (Rising Nepal 2000).



Plate 5: The unregulated collection of natural resources from the master plan

Mud, a traditional cementing and plastering material throughout Nepal and especially in the region, remains an important natural resource. The master plan is particularly marshy (see Benakdir's report to UNESCO 2001; Nippon Koei 2001; Coningham and Milou 2000:45) and many of the communities surrounding the master plan unofficially source their supplies from the site. The local demand for mud has remained high throughout the years due to the influx of refugees, who constructed new homes as well as poorer sectors of the communities, who require regular supplies for ongoing structural repairs. The unregulated collection and removal of mud not only

threatens the ecology of the area, but may also cause unquantifiable losses to ancient remains throughout the wider master plan, the majority of which has not undergone comprehensive archaeological investigation (Coningham and Milou 2000:26).

One successful aspect of implementing environmental protection in the early stages of the master plan development was growth in the population of a protected species of antelope *Boselephus tragocamelus*, known locally as *nil gai* (which translates literally as "blue cow"). The initial increase in forest cover and clearance of settlements are believed to have contributed to strengthening the *nil gai* population in the Lumbini area (JICA 2001:4-20). The master plan designed the site to be and it remains unfenced which allows the *nil gai* herds within it to freely access surrounding farmlands and local people hold them to be responsible for the considerable crop damage that impacts negatively on their livelihoods. Because of the antelopes' protected status, farmers face legal consequences if they harm *nil gai* in the course of preventing crop spoilage. They therefore, requested the LDT to fence the entire periphery of the master plan. However, the lack of effective action to confine the *nil gai* to the master plan has exacerbated the local communities' frustration with the Lumbini development and the LDT. The population of *nil gai* has subsequently fallen markedly in recent years. While this is due in part to disease transmission from domestic cattle and pesticide poisoning, there is also evidence of illegal hunting (Environment Nepal 2004).

Conclusion

Although the development of Lumbini has been severely hampered by issues relating to management, finance and political change, the original objectives of Kenzo Tange's master plan - to develop the potential nativity site as a centre of world pilgrimage and tourism - remain relevant. Lumbini, like Mount Everest, represents within the kingdom of Nepal a unique element of global interest and importance that has great potential to generate revenue at the national and local level. Unlike Everest, however, because of its relatively recent rediscovery and low media profile, Lumbini requires a concerted packaging and advertising effort to raise awareness of its existence among potential visitors, be they pilgrims, or tourists. It is essential that marketing of the site be combined with the construction of planned infrastructure to support and encourage visitors to remain longer in the area. Between 1999-2000 UNDP initiated a series of missions to review the Lumbini development so far and develop a strategy towards its completion. While there might no longer be economic resources available to realise Tange's master plan to its original extent, it is crucial that the project achieves some form of completion and achieves the original development objectives for the site and the local community.

Several, protracted features of the Lumbini development have fractured relations between the local people and the site's transforming institution, the LDT. This study reveals that relocated families, having relinquished their land and property feel excluded from the master plan area and any benefits its development might bring. Indeed, the early stages of the development of the Lumbini master plan have impacted substantially on local livelihoods with very different consequences for different sectors of society. Those less well-off feel that in the course of the development their economic situation has deteriorated, while wealthier sections of local society, those connected with the transforming institution and outsiders have benefited from Lumbini's investment potential. The persistence of difficulties relating to livelihoods and living conditions that local people, particularly families displaced the master plan, regard to be a consequence of the Lumbini development, renders it essential that efforts be focussed on maximising the site's potential to attract visitors and revenue to this impoverished area. Given that communities surrounding the master plan consist mainly of Hindus and Muslims and that only a minority of the local population are themselves Buddhist, Lumbini does not provide spiritual recompense to the majority of local people. Similarly, components of the master plan that have been completed - hotels, the museum, research institute, monasteries and temples - are also of little inherent value to poor local people, beyond any livelihood opportunities they might offer. In the current climate of civil unrest it is imperative for local people feel included in the benefits of the Lumbini development and that the widening breach between local communities and the LDT be addressed.

The monastic community of Lumbini recognises the urgent need for inclusion of local people and a more integrative management approach to the site. This was ratified in declaration xiv of the Lumbini Declaration of the World Buddhist Summit in 1998. Integrated conservation and development projects such as the Annapurna Conservation Area Project provide national models for the successful incorporation of local people and livelihood development in project decision-making and sustainable natural resource management (Gurung 1998; Bunting et al 1991). This approach should be adopted as a matter of high priority to address the lack of inclusion in the Lumbini development and unexploited opportunities to develop skills and enterprise among the most disadvantaged sectors of local society. Inclusion of local people in the management and decision-making processes regarding the natural environment of the master plan is essential to ensuring the sustainability and optimal use of natural resources.

The LDT has been widely held to account for the stagnation of the master plan, but it has also been left to complete a mammoth task that was initiated at the international level. The international committee that was formed in 1970 to oversee and raise funds for the development of Lumbini is not listed

on the United Nations website and has been described as "moribund for more than a decade" (Dixit 2002). In 2003 the Kathmandu Post attributed to the LDT's member secretary, Mr Janak Lal Shrestha the comment: "There is a lack of clear vision as to who is supposed to accomplish the jobs set by the Master Plan," he said, adding that [the United Nations Committee] for overseeing the development of Lumbini has remained inactive since its inception" (Kathmandu Post 2003). Given the emerging situation of civil unrest and conflict throughout Nepal, tensions between the LDT and the local community need to be relieved as a matter of urgency. There have been calls both from the national press (Spotlight 2003) and the Buddhist Community (Lumbini Declaration of the World Buddhist Summit 1998: declaration xiii) for the international committee based in UN Headquarters in New York to be revitalised to mobilise funds and take responsibility for the completion and management of the Lumbini development. Given that the international community initiated the Lumbini development, responsibility ultimately rests at this level to complete of the development objectives, preserve the heritage site and to maximise local inclusion in the process.

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Notes

1. The first notable interest in preserving and developing the site after its rediscovery was a donation made by King Mahendra in 1958 (Crystal Mirror Series 1994:23).
2. Deeg uses the transliteration Xuanzang for the name of the monk referred to here as Hsuan-Tsang.
3. The natural pool has been conserved with brick and other materials throughout recent history and has become known as the Sakya Tank, which is illustrated in figure 1.
4. Ashoka's reign was between 273 and 232 BC.
5. Transliteration of the Chinese traveller's names varies throughout the literature. Here we follow Bikkhu Ding Hui of the Chinese Monastery in Lumbini (see Hui 2000). Bidari (2002:77) sets out a number of versions used by different authors.

6. 1312 AD.
7. *Dighanikaya*, 16; *Mahaparinirvanasutra*.
8. Diacritics have not been included in this translation is from Waldschmidt (1950/51: 388, 390).
9. For further detail, see Bidari (2002:92).
10. New Lumbini Village.
11. Nepalese Rupee.
12. Refugees interviewed in the course of this study had left Megalai, in the Kathi Hills.
13. A mixture of areca nut, lime, spices and other flavourings, wrapped in a betel leaf that is chewed, producing a mild narcotic effect.
14. A non-alcoholic drink made from yoghurt, either salted or sweetened with sugar.
15. Coloured powder, usually red, used for ritual purposes.
16. British Government Department for International Development.
17. SNV (*Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers*) Netherlands Development Organisation.
18. "VDCs" or Village Development Committees are local administrative areas, known as *panchayat* prior to 1990.
19. Lentils that are a dietary staple and contribute an important source of protein.

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DAIRY PRODUCTION AND ITS IMPLICATION IN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN THE TARAI REGION OF NEPAL: A CASE STUDY OF CHITWAN DISTRICT

**Manjeshwori Singh
Keshav Lall Maharjan**

Introduction

Nepal is a mountainous country with agriculture as its economic mainstay. The percentage of people dependent on agriculture has declined gradually from 81% in 1991 to 76 % in 2002 (CBS, 2002). Only about 20% of the total land area can be cultivated in a mountainous country like Nepal. With the typical geographical condition and other natural reasons, the government of Nepal has to face many challenges in providing basic infrastructure facilities and services in most part of the country. Due to the lack of agricultural infrastructures such as roads, irrigation and so on, agriculture has remained almost stagnant. Its share in the gross domestic products has been constantly decreasing. Although the nature and the form of the problem of farming system in the Tarai are different from those in the hills and the mountain, they are no less severe. The Tarai is highly influenced by migration from the mountains, the hills and neighbouring country India. The phenomenon of migration has been the most striking reason for the rapid population growth in the Tarai region. The National Census 1991 reports that the population in the Tarai is increasing at a rate of 4.2% per annum contrasting with that of 1.6% in the hills and a national average of 2.2%. Such a rapid increase in population density in the Tarai has considerably increased population pressure on the existing land and forest resources; consequently the surpluses of food grains have been rapidly declined. Thus, the production of food grains alone has not been able to meet the ever-increasing food needs for the people. Hence, people have been practicing different economic activities to maintain their livelihood.

Livestock farming being a major component of Nepalese farming system is becoming one of the important occupations in the rural area of Nepal. It contributes 31% of agriculture gross domestic product (GDP), among this, 53% derived from the hills, 38% from the Tarai and 9% from the mountains (APP, 1995). Livestock farming, especially, dairy farming alone contributes 78% in total AGDP. It is presently undergoing a transition phase from subsistence to commercial dairy farming in the various places of the Tarai region due to the increase of milk marketing facilities in the area. Dairy farming has been helping the farmers to earn cash income to fulfill their basic needs, at the same time they can get manure as by-product and draft power

for agricultural production. One of the other important aspects of dairy farming is to generate energy in household level for cooking and heating in terms of biogas, which is produced by decomposition of animal dung into an airtight digester. Biogas technology is one of the technologies that is renewable and is regarded as directly contributing in minimizing the over use of traditional energy sources² in the rural area where only 1% of the people have access to the commercial energy sources. In the other hand, numerous people are involved in the production, processing and trading of dairy and dairy products. This provides the employment opportunities for the rural people. Sales of dairy animals, milk and milk products make up a considerable proportion of the average farmer's income. Dairy is also a source of supply of animal protein (cows for milk, and buffalo for milk and meat) through the consumption of milk and milk products and meat, which can positively effect in improvement of the health of people. Hence, the analysis of contribution of dairy production and its implication to the household income in the rural setting is a research issue. Further, the analysis of occupational structure and their contribution in household income is also becoming important. Consequently, the main objective of this study is to analyze contribution of dairy production to household income and examine the occupational structure of the rural households. This will further examine socio-economic characteristics of dairy farmers, dairy production costs and net return to farm from dairy production and examining the share of different economic activities among the dairy farmers.

Methodology

Multistage sampling techniques were used to select district, Village Development Committee (VDC) and household for the empirical study. District and VDC were selected with purposive sampling process among dairy pocket areas, having relatively high numbers of dairy animal holdings and high milk production. Households were selected randomly among the dairy farmers. In order to collect primary data in household level, detail survey was conducted within 104 households from two VDCs (dairy pocket areas) in Chitwan district. It comprises 4% of the total households of surveyed villages. A semi-structured interview approach was also conducted to collect additional data. The collected data will be divided into three farmer's group according to farm size; large, medium and small farmer. Information on socio-economic characteristics of those dairy farmers, agricultural land distribution, dairy animal holdings, income from dairy production were compiled and analyzed according to three farmers groups by using statistical tools; Excel and SPSS. Information on income and percentage share from different economic activities other than dairy production were also analysed to evaluate their significance to the total household economy.

Dairy Farming in Nepal

Dairy animals that include cow and buffalo evenly distributed throughout the country, with some predominance of cow on the Tarai and lower hills. About 75% of Nepalese household keep cow and 47.8% keep buffalo mainly for milk, draught power and manure for their farmland. There is about 7.0 million heads cow with the annual increment of 0.05% and 3.4 million heads of buffalo, growing at a rate of about 1.6 % per annum in the year 2001 (Table 1). The raising of buffalo occurs mainly in the Hills (56.7%) and the Tarai (34%). Share of both cow and buffalo is comparatively higher in the hills followed by the Tarai and the mountain.

Table 1: Number of Cattles in Nepal according to Geographical Regions

Region	Animals	Average Animal	Growth Rate	Share in Total(%)
Mountain	Cow	819,243	-0.43	11.66
	Buffalo	313,500	1.17	9.18
Hill	Cow	3,447,598	0.12	49.06
	Buffalo	1,939,134	1.17	56.77
Tarai	Cow	2,760,302	0.11	39.28
	Buffalo	1,163,435	2.56	34.06
Nepal	Cow	7,027,143	0.05	100.00
	Buffalo	3,416,069	1.64	100.00

Source: CBS, 2001.

Cow and buffalo are the main grazing dairy animals for a farm household in the Tarai region. The main cow breeds found in the region are *Bos taurus Jersey*, *Holstein*, *Bos indicus Haryana* and *Sahiwal*. Buffalo breeds are crossbred Murrah from India as a result of direct importation from India. It is also supported by the upgrading programme implemented by the Department of Agriculture Development (DAD) using both natural services and artificial insemination. Murrah crossbred are more common in the mid-hills and the Tarai particularly where access to milk market is good. Dairy animals are reared in the region mostly to get manure for their farmland and the draught power used in cultivation. Female calves are reared as herd replacements while male calves are either reared for replacement of draught oxen for ploughing and for pulling carts, or they are neglected, killed, or sold to buyers from India and local people. Buffalo is also used for ploughing in the Tarai region. Female buffalo calves receive more care than males due to the milk. Male buffalo calves are neglected and die, or are weaned very early and slaughtered for meat or sold to buyers from India and the local market. Buffalo milk, which contains high amount of milk fats, is preferred by both

producers and consumers over cow milk. This results in the lactating buffaloes in the farm household herd being fed better than the lactating cows. Buffalo milk is a more valuable product than cow milk and so lactating buffalo are the first animal to be stall fed when grazing is insufficient. As a result of having less grazing land and forest, more crop residues (paddy, wheat, maize, cotton, sugar cane tops, lentils) are fed. It is generally supplemented with some concentrates. Concentrate feeding, locally known as '*kundo*'³ is given to the lactating animals, which is common to most farmers in Nepal. The amount of stall feeding relative to grazing is more in the Tarai than the mid-hills. The forage utilized in the region generally includes; grazing on roadsides, uncultivated land, forest (near the Siwalik), on cultivated land after harvest, and on fallow land.

Milk production varies according to geographical region. Table 2 shows the number of milking animal and milk production according to region, which is less in the Tarai compared to the hill, however, the milk yield is highest in the Tarai among the other regions. The milk yield of cow and buffalo is 450 kg and 962 kg per year respectively, which is the highest milk yield in the region compared to the hill and mountain. Cow milk contributes only about 32% of the total milk production with average milk yield of 401 kg per year. A large share of milk production is produced by buffalo, which contributes 68% in total milk production having milk yield of 834 kg per year.

Table 2: Milk Production and Yield according to Geographical Region

Region	Livestock	Total Population	Milking Animal	Milk Production (in MT)	Milk Yield (Kg/Year)
Mountain	Cow	819,243	104,533	33,882	324
	Buffalo	313,500	81,802	57,632	705
Hill	Cow	3,447,598	459,703	178,907	389
	Buffalo	1,939,134	567,007	446,660	787
Tarai	Cow	2,760,302	288,347	129,949	450
	Buffalo	1,163,435	288,002	277,102	962
Nepal	Cow	7,027,143	852,583	342,738	401
	Buffalo	3,416,069	936,811	781,394	834

Source: APSD, 2001

Dairy animals are kept mainly for milk, milk product e.g. ghee, manure (fertilizer and fuel), meat and hides. They are also used for ploughing and pulling carts in Tarai region. In Tarai cow is more important than buffalo for draught as in the mid-hills. Both buffalo and cow are used for threshing by trampling, although beating paddy sheaves by hand is more common in Tarai. Milk produced by buffalo and cow is sold to Dairy Development Corporation (DDC) collection centres, private urban buyers and private dairy

farm. Ghee, a milk product, is sold mostly to India. Buffaloes are sold for slaughter in the district urban centres and Kathmandu. Male buffalo and male cow for draught purposes are sold in the locality where they are raised. Late pregnancy or early calving female buffaloes have wider market in the region.

Chronological Development and Present Situation of Dairy Farming in Nepal

In Nepal, dairy development activities began in 1952 with the establishment of a small-scale milk processing plant on an experimental basis in Tusal, a village in the Kavreplanchok district, under the Department of Agriculture (DoA). After that few yak cheese factories were started with an assistance of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations in 1952/53. With the growing prospect of expanding the dairy sector, the First Five-Year Plan (1952-57) emphasized the need for developing a modern dairy industry. It had programmes to establish milk collecting centres and central milk processing plant in Kathmandu valley, cheese making plants, using yak milk, in high hills and ghee purification centre at the exporting points in the Tarai. In order to streamline the dairy development activities, Dairy Development Commission was formed in 1955, and it was then converted into the Dairy Development Board in 1962. In accordance with the Corporation Act of 1964, the board was again converted into the Dairy Development Corporation (DDC) in 1969 in order to meet the growing milk demand in the Kathmandu valley. The main objectives of DDC are to provide guaranteed market, fair price to the rural milk producers, supply pasteurized milk and other standard dairy products to the urban consumers. When DDC started its operation it had only Kathmandu Milk Supply Scheme (KMSS) and one Cheese Production and Supply Scheme with four Cheese Production Centres. Over the years, DDC gradually extended its activity area outside Kathmandu Valley, and established various milk supply schemes in different parts of the country to meet the growing demand for processed milk and milk products. There are six milk supply schemes and one Milk Production and Distribution Scheme shown in Table 3.

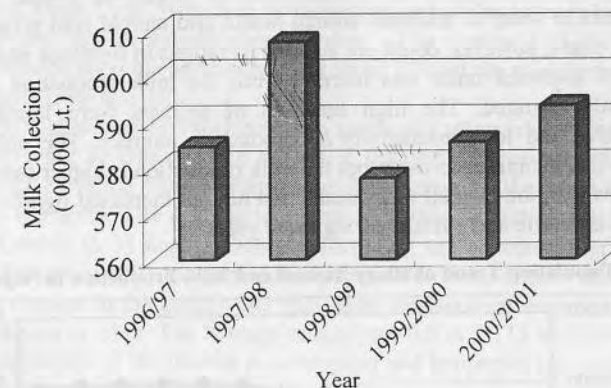
Table 3: Different Milk Supply Schemes Established by DDC

Milk Supply Scheme	District	Date of Establishment	Production Capacity (Per Shift)
Kathmandu Milk Supply Scheme (KMSS)	Kathmandu	1978	75,000 ltrs.
Biratnagar Milk Supply Scheme (BMSS)	Morang	1973	25,000 ltrs. & 3 metric ton powder milk from 40,000 ltrs. of milk per day
Hetauda Milk Supply Scheme (HMSS)	Makawanpur	1974	15,000 ltrs.
Pokhara Milk Supply Scheme (PMSS)	Kaski	1980	10,000 ltrs.
Lumbini Milk Supply Scheme (LMSS)	Rupandehi	-	2,500 ltrs.
Madhay Paschimanchal Milk Supply Scheme (MPMSS)	Banke	-	-

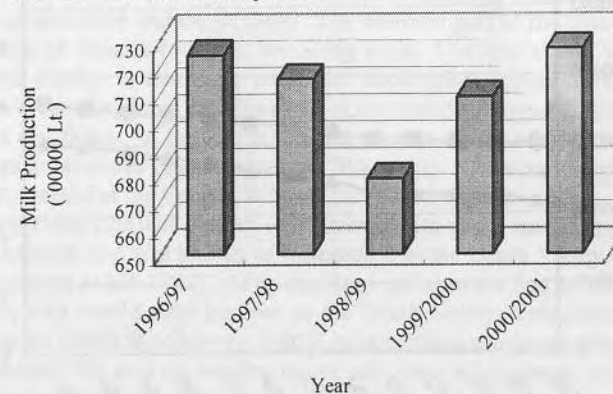
Source: DDC, 2003

There is a mini processing plant recently established under the LMSS. Thus, the scheme has just started selling pasteurized milk in the local market. Since the sales volume is small, the scheme is transshipping raw milk to KMSS and PMSS to supply in those areas. Madhay Paschimanchal Supply Scheme (MPSS) has recently been established in order to supply pasteurized milk in the local area. Since MPSS has not yet established milk-processing plant (under way), it also has been transshipping raw milk to KMSS. Hetauda Milk Supply Scheme supports KMSS by supplying excess milk that is above their local requirement, where as BMSS manufactures skimmed milk powder from its excess milk and that of other milk supply schemes as well.

Dairy Development Corporation collects cow, buffalo and Yak/chauri milk from different districts. Milk is collected through the farmer owned organizations such as Milk Producer's Associations (MPAs) and Milk Producer's Cooperative Societies (MPCS). The present milk collection network of DDC has spread from Panchthar in the East to Surkhet in the west. The collection network under different Milk Supply Schemes is presented in Annex A. All these schemes have a responsibility of collection of milk and processing of milk products. At present, the DDC has a milk collection network in 39 districts throughout the country. Figure 1 and Figure 2 shows the annual milk collection and production of the DDC from 1996 to 2001.

Figure 1: Total Milk Collection by DDC

Source: DDC, 2003

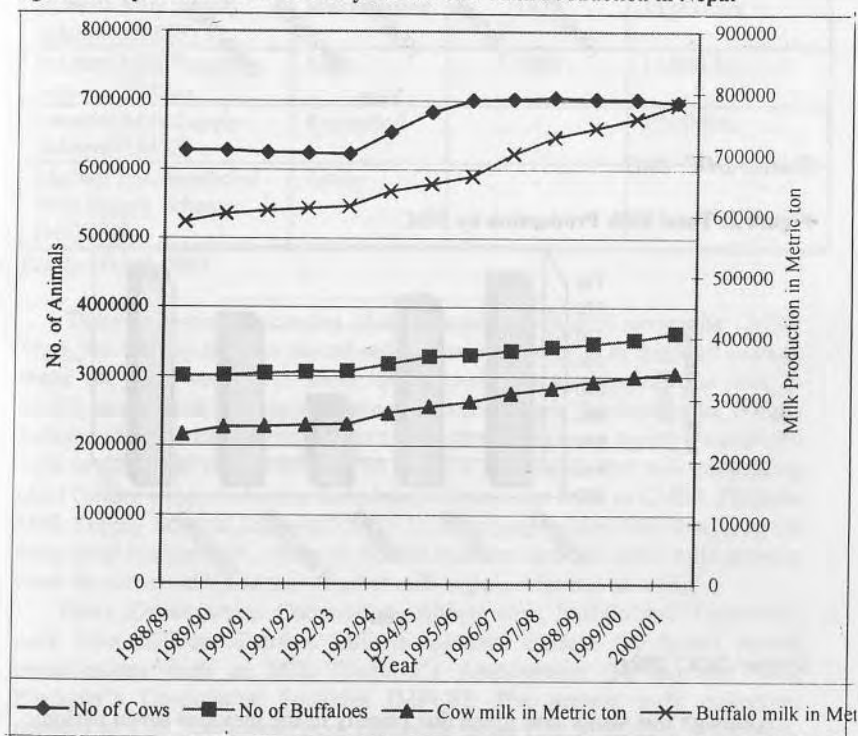
Figure 2: Total Milk Production by DDC

Source: DDC, 2003

Although this sector was given due priority in the previous seven periodic Five-Year Plans, it could not achieve much success as targeted. Consequently, it has not been possible to maintain an adequate supply of necessary milk and milk products for the growing population. Figure 3 shows the trend of dairy animal population and milk production from respective animals during 1988 to 2001 in Nepal. The cow population has increased continuously during the year 1992/93 to 1995/96. The Eight Five-Year Plans encouraged the

participation of private sector to establish animal hospitals. It also launched various programmes such as introduction of improved breed, vaccine programmes in order to maintain animal health and animal feed programme. The eight plans, however, could not achieve its targets in livestock sector. The number of livestock units was increased but the milk production has not significantly changed. The high numbers of animals were found to be unproductive and low productivity of productive animals. The number of buffalo is low compared to cattle but the milk production is higher than that of cattle. However, the over all milk production has not increased significantly in both the case cattle and buffalo during these years.

Figure 3: Population Trend of Dairy Animal and Milk Production in Nepal



Source: APSD, 2002

General Features of Chitwan District

Chitwan district lies in the Tarai (Plain) region, which is often called "Grain Basket" as it has more capacity to grow crops and other farming products. The district is agriculturally significant as it is endowed with very fertile

alluvial soil from the Rapti River. The district is one of the biggest districts in the Central Inner Tarai⁴, which is an important part of the country both from the settlement and economic point of view. The economy of the district mostly depends upon the agriculture, and about 73% of the workforces derive their income from this activity.

The district is located 146 kilometers south of Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, covering an area of 2218 sq. km in the central development region. The district elevation ranges from about 200 meters in the south to 2000 meters in the north. The average temperature of this district ranges from 18 degrees Celsius to 31 degree Celsius. According to the record prepared by Rampur Station in 1994 the minimum temperature of the district recorded is 2 degree Celsius in December and maximum temperature recorded is 38.2 degree Celsius in May. The average annual rainfall is 2,133 milliliters. The climatic condition of the district is subtropical and temperate type depending upon the topography of the district.

From geographical point of view, the district consists of three major topographic divisions; Mahabharat Hills in the north, Siwalik Hills in the south and inner Tarai region in the centre and the west. The northern mountainous parts of the district, about 2000m in height are inaccessible due to the steep elevation and dense forest. The southern part of the district is in the foothills of Siwalik (600 m), bordering India. The central and southern part of the district is the basin along the Rapti River known as Chitwan valley. Between the plains and Siwalik lies the dense subtropical forest, rich with flora and fauna. Administratively, the district is divided into 36 VDCs and two municipalities (Ratnanagar and Bharatpur). Bharatpur, headquarter of district, located in the Central Western part of the district.

Before 1950, Chitwan district was covered with dense subtropical forest prone to Malaria and was known as *Kalapani* i. e. the Death Valley. During the Rana period (1855-1951), when the Rana government had to punish an individual, they would send him/her to the Death Valley. This implies that when a person enters the Chitwan district he/she would surely not return. The rulers also used this area for hunting tigers, and other wild animals, often as a state event with foreign dignitaries. At that time people did not like to go there for settlement. However, after launching of simultaneous programme of planned settlement and malaria eradication in late 1950s, people started going there for settlement. To encourage the *Pahadis* (hilly people) to permanently settle in Chitwan, government offered land and free tractor service as incentives. Chitwan then became an attractive place for the *pahadis*. Gradually people from all over the country composing of different ethnic groups, culture and religions started migrating to the district. Not only over all the country but also from the neighboring country especially India started migrating to the district because of no restrictions whatsoever in crossing the inter-national boundary between India and Nepal. During the harvest season,

many Indian labours would come to work and finally settled in the district in most cases. However, still some forests are secured along *Char koshe Jhadi* (8-mile long dense subtropical forest between the plains and Siwalik Hills) and most of the Chitwan National Park.

Due to the high influence of migration, the population of the district increased sharply after 1950s. Table 4 shows the number of population and population growth within the given time. The maximum percentage of growth is after eradication of malaria in 1954, 250% during 1954-1961. Then after the percentage growth during each decade has decreased gradually compared to 1950s. However, the average growth rate is about 3.5% annually in each decade, greater than the regional average growth of 2.9% and national average growth of 2.7%.

Table 4: Population and Percentage Growth in Chitwan District

Year	Total Population	Total Percentage Population Growth	
1954	42,822	-	-
1961	107,394	1954-1961	250
1971	183,644	1961-1971	171
1981	259,571	1971-1981	141
1991	354,488	1981-1991	137
2001	470,713	1991-2001	132

Source: Based on Pradhan & Routray, 1992

Compared to other parts of the Tarai region, Chitwan District is relatively more accessible. Markets, hospitals, and educational centres are within accessible distance and the transportation facilities are easily available. It has two airports and two highways connected to the district with all other districts of the Tarai and some districts of the central and western Hills. The Institute of Agriculture and Animal Science at Rampur plays a key role in development of dairy farming in the district. Other institutions such as horticulture farm, cooperative, division of women development and financial institutions directly related to agricultural development in the district.

The total arable land area of Chitwan district is 46,894 ha, of which 44,391 ha of land are cultivated. There are 142,422 ha of forestland, 18,882 ha of pastureland, and 13,602 ha of land are covered by rivers, mountains and so on. Among cultivated land only 28% is irrigated throughout the year while rest of the cultivated land is irrigated only partially. Since the district has more capacity to grow crops, it exports food grains to India and other parts of Nepal. Table 5 shows the cultivated area, production, and yield of major crops in Chitwan comparing to the country as a whole.

Table 5: Cultivated Area, Production and Yield of different Crops in Chitwan District for 1999/2000.

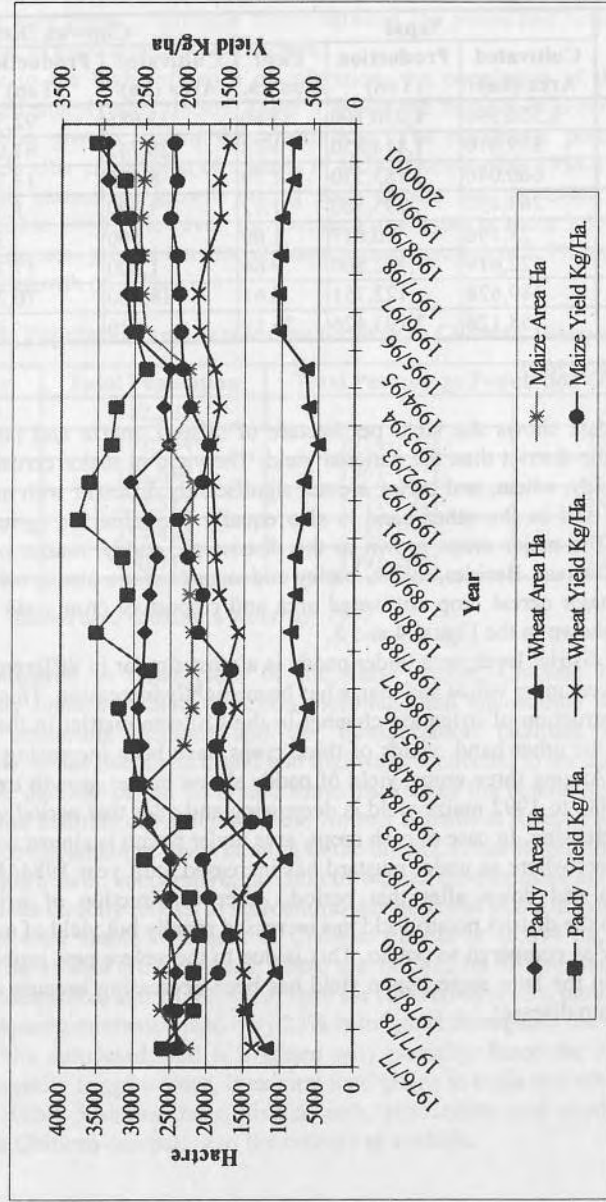
Crops	Nepal			Chitwan District		
	Cultivated Area (ha)	Production (Ton)	Yield Ton/ha.	Cultivated Area (ha)	Production (Ton)	Yield (Ton/ha)
Paddy	1,550,990	4,030,100	2.60	33,685	92,500	2.75
Maize	819,010	1,414,850	1.73	28,742	61,083	2.13
Wheat	660,040	1,183,530	1.79	8,500	13,770	1.62
Millet	263,450	295,380	1.12	1,500	1,375	0.92
Barley	28,196	30,817	1.09	400	360	0.90
Potato	122,619	1,182,500	9.64	1,600	17,750	11.09
Oilseeds	189,628	122,751	0.65	18,000	70,200	3.90
Sugarcane	58,126	2,103,426	36.19	10	320	32.00

Source: CBS, 2001

This data shows the yield per hectare of oilseed, maize and potato is higher in the district than the national yield. The yield of major cereal crops such as paddy, wheat, and barley are not significantly different with national yield. The soil in the other hand is also equally favorable for agricultural products. The major crops grown in the district are paddy, maize, oilseed, potato and wheat. Besides, millet, barley and sugarcane are also grown. The trend of major cereal crop cultivated area and respective crop yield of the district is shown in the Figure 4 and 5.

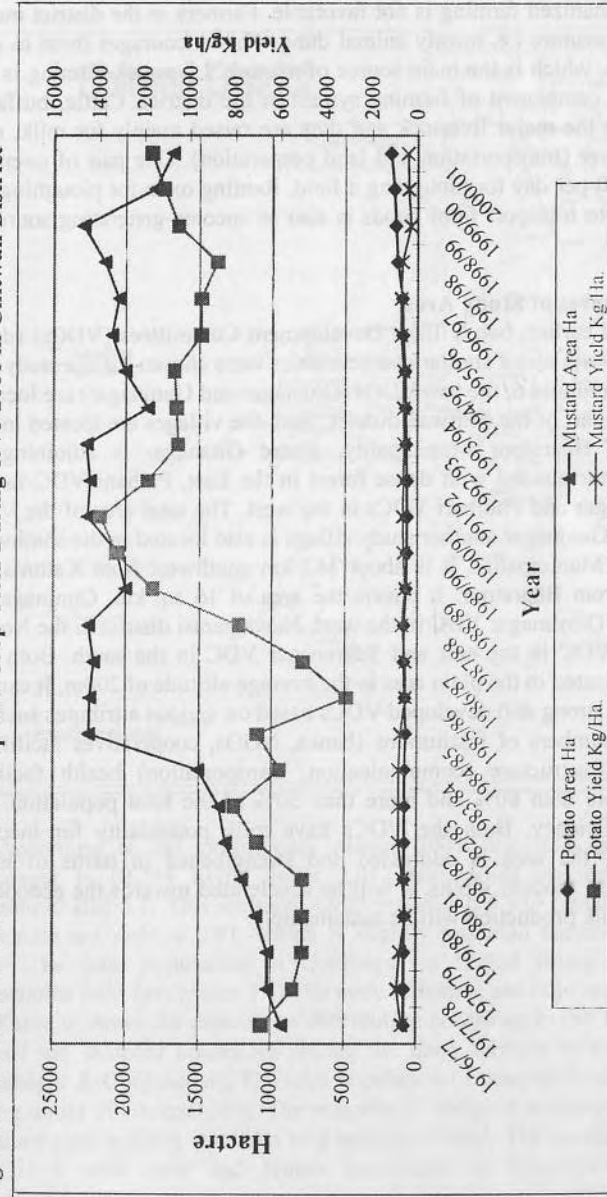
In the district level, area under paddy is almost similar in different years where as area under wheat and maize has been slightly increasing. This is due to the construction of irrigation channel in the Chitwan district in the latter period. In the other hand, yields of three crops have been increasing but in slow rate. Among three crops, yield of paddy shows higher growth trend. In the year 1985 to 1992 maize yield is decreasing and after that period yield is slightly increasing. In case of cash crops, area under potato is almost constant over 25 years where as under mustard has increased until year 1984/ 85 and slightly up and down after that period. After construction of irrigation channels in the district potato yield has increased rapidly but yield of mustard is very low as compared to potato. This is due to the severe pest problem in this crop. In the later stage potato yield has been decreasing because of late blight (potato disease).

Figure 4: Estimated Area for Selected Cash Crop and Crop Yield During 1976-2001 in Chitwan district



Source: CBS, 1993, 1997 and 2002

Figure 5: Estimated Area for Selected Crop and Crop Yield During 1976-2001 in Chitwan District



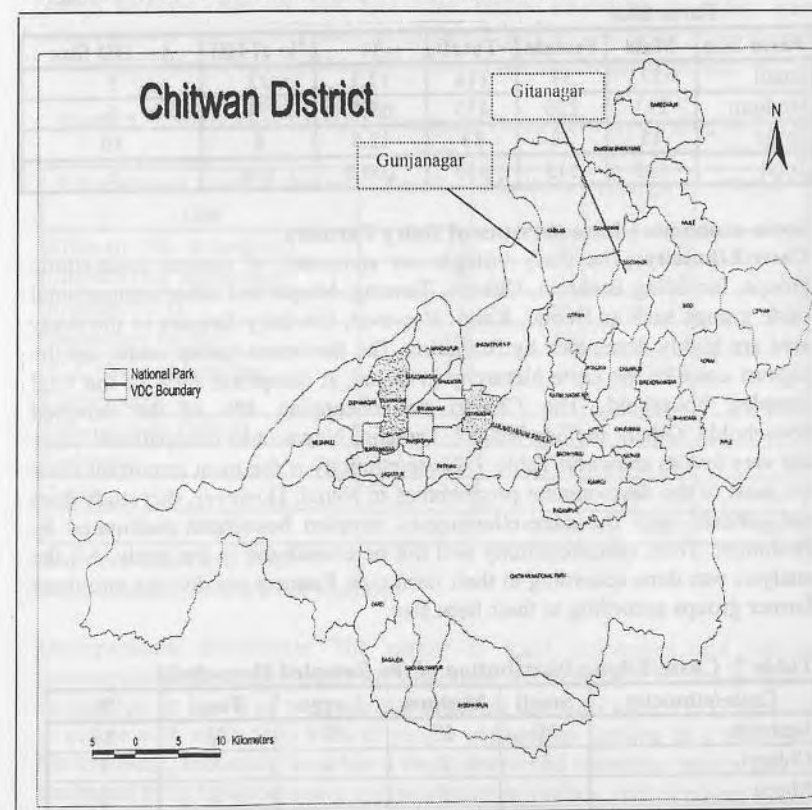
Source: CBS, 1993, 1997 and 2002.

The farming system is traditional and based on human labour and animal power, and depends mostly upon the rain for irrigation. Since the landholding is small, mechanized farming is not favorable. Farmers in the district mainly use compost manure i.e. mostly animal dung. This encourages them to raise dairy animals, which is the main source of manure. Livestock farming is also an important component of farming system in the district. Cattle, buffaloes and goats are the major livestock and they are raised mainly for milk, meat and draft power (transportation and land preparation). One pair of oxen can earn NRs. 210 per day for ploughing a field. Renting oxen for ploughing and pulling carts to transport farm goods is also an income-generating source in the district.

General Features of Study Area

As mentioned earlier, two Village Development Committees (VDCs) (dairy pocket area), with about similar characteristics were chosen for the study. As can be seen in Figure 6, the two VDCs (Gitanagar and Gunjanagar) are located in the central part of the Chitwan district. Both the villages are located in the southwest of Bharatpur Municipality, where Gitanagar is adjoining it. Gitanagar is surrounded with dense forest in the East, Pathani VDC in the south, Shivanagar and Phulbari VDCs in the west. The total area of the VDC is 16 sq. km. Gunjanagar another study village is also located in the southwest of Bharatpur Municipality. It is about 162 km southwest from Kathmandu and 16 km from Bharatpur. It covers the area of 16 sq. km. Gunjanagar is delineated by Dibyanagar VDC in the west, Nawalparasi district in the North, Saradanagar VDC in the east and Sukranagar VDC in the south. Both the villages are located in the plain area in the average altitude of 200m. It can be considered as strong and developed VDCs based on various attributes such as presence of numbers of institutions (banks, NGOs, cooperatives facilities) and other infrastructure (communication, transportation) health facility, electricity more than 80% and more than 50% of the total population has food self-sufficiency. Both the VDCs have milk potentiality for income generation. If the area is addressed and strengthened in terms of milk production with modern inputs, it will be accelerated towards the economic growth and milk production will be sustainable.

Figure 6: Map of Chitwan District showing Study Villages



According to the preliminary census 2001, the total population of Gitanagar is 10,244 living under 2,012 households making an average household size 5.1. This includes 4,905 males and 5,339 females. The male to female sex ratio is 0.91, which is slightly less than national average of 0.99. The total population in Gunjanagar is 12,868 living under 2,499 households with family size 5.1. The male to female sex ratio is 0.93.

Table 6 shows the population distribution according to the farm size and sex of the sampled household among the dairy farmers in the study area (Gitanagar & Gunjanagar). The total population of sampled household is 650 living under 104 households. The majority of sampled household belongs to medium size, holding less than two hectare of land. The average household size is 6 with male and female population is approximately equally distributed.

Table 6: Population Distribution of the Sampled Household according to Farm Size

Farm Size	Male	Female	Total	%	No of HH	Av. HH Size
Small	57	57	114	17.5	22	5
Medium	233	220	453	69.7	74	6
Large	45	38	83	12.8	8	10
Total	335	315	650	100.0	104	6

Socio-economic Characteristics of Dairy Farmers

Caste/Ethnicity: The study villages are composed of various caste/ethnic groups, including Brahmin, Chhetri, Tamang, Magar and other occupational caste groups such as Damai, Kami. However, the dairy farmers in the study area are highly dominated by Brahmins. The Brahmins (priest caste) are the highest caste in the caste hierarchy in Nepal. It comprises 89% of the total sampled household. The Chhetri are occupying 4% of the sampled households. Others include Magar, Tamang, Newar and occupational caste are very low as shown in Table 7. Caste/ethnicity is the most important issue for most of the development programmes in Nepal. However, this study does not concern with the caste/ethnicity as sampled household dominated by Brahmins. Thus, castes/ethnicity will not be considered in the study. All the analysis was done according to their farm size. Farmers are divided into three farmer groups according to their farm size.

Table 7: Caste/Ethnic Distribution of the Sampled Household

Caste/ethnicity	Small	Medium	Large	Total	%
Brahmin	20	67	6	93	89
Chhetri	1	2	1	4	4
Magar		3		3	3
Others	1	2	1	4	4
Total	22	74	8	104	100

Source: Field Visit, 2002

Others: Tamang, Newar, Mahato, Kamali

Education Status: Education is one of the important human capitals, which plays important role in determining household status in the society. In the research area, there are ten primary, five secondary and four higher secondary schools in the various ward. Most of the schools are privately funded. With the presence of number of educational institution, the literacy rate is as high as 88.5% among the sampled household members including those who are just literate with no schooling. The large percentage of the sampled household members has education in the range of primary to intermediate level. The highest percentage of graduate people belongs to large farmer

(13%). This implies better-educated people are generally not involving in dairy farming due to the fact that better education provides more opportunities for the services in different sectors. However, the average education status is not significantly different among the three groups.

Table 8: Educational Status of Sampled Household According to Farm Size

Educational Level & Farm size	Small	Medium	Large	Total
Illiterate (No Schooling)	15	46	9	70
Literate (No Schooling)	8	51	6	65
Primary (1-5)	33	90	19	142
Secondary (6-10)	19	90	12	121
SLC (School Leaving Certificate)	11	31	10	52
Intermediate (10+2)	16	77	12	105
Graduate	6	35	10	52
Total	108	421	78	607
Literacy Rate (%)	86.1	89.0	88.5	88.5

Source: Field Visit, 2002

Note: Under 6 (43) are not included

Occupational Structure: The nature of local economies and various commercial and employment opportunities are reflected in the people's occupation. In terms of occupational structure the study area is very agrarian in nature with more than 90% of people engaged in farming as a main job. Nevertheless, the study area has a more developed economy, which can be attributed to its location along the trade route to various market places within and outside the district. Table 9 shows different trends in the diversity of income sources among small, medium and large farmers. All the three groups of farmers have approximately similar range of income sources (4 economic activities) for income generation. The most important occupation is farming that includes crop and livestock production. It provides income to about 77.3% of them, which is far greater figure than the second largest clerical job (13.1%), professional (7.1%), and business (2.5%). The given economic activities are the main livelihood strategies of the sampled household that represent the whole district. If we see the occupational structure according to farm size, all the large farmers engaging in farming including dairy as they endowed higher proportion of land with annual food self-sufficiency and also surplus. As the small and medium farmer, having small proportion of land, though they have annual food self-sufficiency, they have to depend on other activities to manage other non-food items. However, the majority of

households has farm-based activities; crop and dairy farming as their main occupation for living.

Table 9: Occupational Structure of Sampled Household According to Farm Size

Occupation Category	Small	Medium	Large	Total	%
Farming	44	168	31	243	77.3
Business	1	7		8	2.5
Clerical Job	10	24	7	41	13.1
Professional Job	2	18	2	22	7.1
Total	57	217	40	314	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Note: Above 65 (14), under 6 (43), Student (279) is not included

Clerical Job: Government/non government service, Officer

Farming: Crop & livestock, Business: Shopkeeper, Trade; Clerical Job:

Service, Officer, computer operator

Professional: Teacher, Politician, Writer, Driver, Nurse, Police, Army, and Overseer

Small: 0.2 to under 0.5 ha; Medium: 0.5 and under 2 ha; Large: 2 ha and above

Landholding: Land ownership within the agrarian economy of the study area provides a major source of income, which is an important natural asset that farmers have. The inequity in land distribution translates to economic disparity among the farmers. The land size of the holding and type of land available in the study area can have a large impact on the ability of farmers to earn a living. Table 10 shows the land distribution of the sampled household according to land type and farm size. It shows the average land holding of small, medium and large farmers is 0.3, 1.0 and 2.4 Ha respectively. The large farmers are endowed with higher natural asset status than medium and small farmers. The land in the study area is categorized in two types *Ghol* and *Tandi* as district as a whole. Paddy is the main crop cultivated in the *Ghol* or it can also understand as paddy land. Mainly maize and mustard are grown in *Tandi*. It can be seen that average *Ghol* (paddy irrigated land) owned by large farmers (1 Ha.) is almost twice as large as that of medium farmers and 4 times larger than that of small farmers. Larger size of *Ghol* owned by large farmer means that they have higher potential to grow crops such as modern variety rice and other crops. It is considered that they have utilized this in higher potential for commercial crop farming. It can also be proved from the income earning from various sources (section 8.3), in which the maximum income comes from crop farming in case of large farmers. It seems they have higher tendency in engaging in crop farming.

Table 10: Land Distribution among Sampled Household by Farm Size and Land Type

Land Type	Farm Size	HH	Total Land Holding	Total Land Holding/HH
<i>Ghol</i> (Paddy Irrigated Land)	Small	22	4.2	0.19
	Medium	74	44.8	0.61
	Large	8	8.33	1.04
<i>Ghol</i> (Paddy Non-irrigated Land)	Small	22	1.07	0.05
	Medium	74	15.75	0.21
	Large	8	7.79	0.97
<i>Tandi</i> (Terrace Irrigated Land)	Small	22	0.51	0.02
	Medium	74	1.66	0.02
	Large	8	0	0.00
<i>Tandi</i> (Terrace Non-irrigated Land)	Small	22	0.64	0.03
	Medium	74	6.72	0.09
	Large	8	2.34	0.29
Homestead, Animal Shed and Other Land	Small	22	1.13	0.05
	Medium	74	4.72	0.06
	Large	8	1.1	0.14
Total Land	Small	22	7.55	0.34
	Medium	74	73.65	1.00
	Large	8	19.56	2.45

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Small: having 0.2 & under 0.5 ha land, medium: 0.5 & under 2 ha land,

Large: above 2 ha land

Note: Land Unit in Ha, Others include few cases of holding of fodder/forest land.

Tandi, a terrace land, homestead, forestland and fodder are not significantly difference among the small, medium and large farmer. *Tandi* is a dry field, which usually does not have irrigation facility and is used for the cultivation of maize, millet and wheat. Other land is not suitable for cultivation but can produce fodder, grasses and trees.

Livestock Holding: Livestock ownership is one of the other major financial assets that people have. The production of manure through livestock is a major contributor to traditional soil management practices. And dairy provides an important source of income. The main animals rearing in the study area are cow, buffalo, goat, ox and chicken. Table 11 shows the ownership of dairy animals and its composition in the study area. The

average number of dairy cow and buffalo in small, medium and large farmer is 4, 5 and 6 respectively. The highest number of average dairy animals is owned by large farmers. It implies that the large farmers have more potential to produce dairy products for their own consumption and for the sale. When checked with the income from dairy, it is interesting to note that it is one of the minimum compared to small and medium farmers. This shows dairy farming for large farmer may be mainly for self-consumption and for the farmyard manure to maintain the soil productivity, which tends to be more easily degraded by pest, disease and nutrition deprivation. Another farmer groups owned less numbers of dairy animals compared to that of large farmers. Similarly, number of milking cow holding per household in small, medium and large farmers is 1.1, 1.2 and 0.9 respectively and that of buffalo holding is less than one in all the cases.

Table 11: Dairy Animal Holding of Sampled Household

Description	Small (22)	Medium (74)	Large (8)	Total
Milking Cow	25	92	7	124
Dry Cow	9	28	4	41
Heifer	6	42	2	50
Female Calf	10	29	3	42
Male Calf	3	14	2	19
Bull	5	37	4	46
Milking Buffalo	14	46	4	64
Dry Buffalo	1	16	10	27
Heifer	7	26	6	39
Female Calf	2	17	2	21
Male Calf	4	14	7	25
Total Animals	86	361	51	498
Holding/HH	4	5	6	5
Milking Cow Holding/HH	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.2
Milking Buffalo Holding/HH	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Small: having 0.2 & under 0.5 ha land, medium: 0.5 & under 2 ha land,
Large: above 2 ha land

Milking animal: cow, producing milk

Dry animal: a cow usually in the latest part of pregnancy, whose lactation has been terminated and who is being prepared for the next lactation, or stop milking

Heifer: young female bovine from birth up to the time she gives to a calf

Calf: young male or female animal

Bull: adult male animal

Survey Results and Discussion

Dairy Animal Production Cost: In this study different variable costs⁵ were calculated for the net household income from dairy farming. The variable costs for individual households in dairy production were computed by summing the expenditures on self and purchased feed, dairy animal health, electricity and cost for labour, which were reported by farmers. The average purchased feed value is very high due to the high market price of ready made feed produced by industry. The labour used in dairy production was household labour and household labour productivity is very low. This is due to the lack of labour market in the study area. The household labour value was evaluated based on the value of agricultural labour found in agricultural labour market. One man-day value varies for man, woman, and child in the study area. One man-day labour cost for man, woman and child is NRs 100, 80 and 50 respectively.

Table 12: Annual Dairy Production Cost in US\$ per Household by Farm Size

Description	Small	Medium	Large
Self Feed (Concentrate/maize/oil cake)	123	655	2,100
Self Feed (Fodder/grass/straw)	741	1,682	3,480
Purchased Feed Concentrate/maize/oil cake)	22,395	22,884	10,463
Purchased Feed (Fodder/grass/straw)	3,691	2,869	
Total Feed Cost	26,950	28,090	16,043
Health Cost	1,476	1,496	2,120
Electricity Cost	39	61	100
Labour Cost (Estimated)	27,748	30,252	27,318
Total Dairy Production Cost	56,213	59,899	45,581

Source: Field Survey, 2002, Unit: Nepali Rupees (NRs.), \$1 = NRs. 77.00

Table 12 shows the types of variable costs included and respective average cost. The findings show that the mean value for self-feed is one of the lowest in small and medium farmer. These two groups of farmer used more than doubled amount of purchased feed compared to self-feed. While large farmers used approximately equal amount for self and purchased feed. This coincides with the low landholding status of small farmers than large farmer. Mean value for electricity used and health is very minimal in all the cases. The total production cost is not significantly different in small and medium farmer with NRs 56,213 and NRs. 59,899 respectively, whereas the production cost i.e. NRs 45,581 of large farmers is minimal. In the same table it can be seen that large farmer uses less amount of intensive and less amount of labour compared to other two groups of farmer. It may be due to the

composition of animals, in which large farmers own less number of milking animals. Generally milking animal needs more care and quality feed.

Labour Utilization: Availability of labour in the household is another important human asset and one of the important inputs in dairy enterprises. Both quantity and quality of labour are important human assets. The knowledge of dairy animal management and the requisite skills needed in dairy farming determine the quality of labour, and input to enhance the productivity of dairy animal. But in a low productivity framework, non-professionals do the work maintaining and rearing of dairy animals, as their opportunity cost is lower. The dairy enterprise provides a gainful employment to the rural households. The number of household members available in dairy farming is an important factor for adopting labour-intensive livelihood strategies. Table 13 shows the annual labour use in various dairy activities per household. In the study area almost labour all found is family labour among the all three groups of farmers. The average number of days spent for dairy activities per year is calculated according to farm size. It shows that the average number of days, which were spent by small and medium farmer, is 310 and 332 respectively, higher than large farmers, which is 306 days per year. But in average, number of animal holding, is less in small and medium farmers. This implies small and medium farmers have higher tendency in involving in dairy activities.

Table 13: Annual Labour (AEU) Utilization in Dairy Activities per Household

Activities	Small			Medium			Large		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Fodder Collection	32	60	92	39	56	95	33	56	89
Feeding	35	37	73	35	33	68	40	48	88
Cleaning Animal	10	7	17	14	8	22	7	10	17
Cleaning Animal Shed	17	33	50	22	23	45	17	29	46
Milking	25	16	40	33	24	57	26	14	40
Milk Delivery	28	10	38	37	8	45	20	6	26
Total	147	163	310	180	154	332	142	163	306
Labour use/animal	37	41	78	36	31	66	27	30	51

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Small: having 0.2 & under 0.5 ha land, Medium: 0.5 & under 2 ha, Large: above 2 ha

Unit: Manday = Working an adult 8 hrs/day; AEU=Adult Equivalent Unit. A working child counted as a half of an adult.

Income Earning from Dairy Farming: Milk selling is the major income source for dairy farmers. Besides, selling of other items such as selling of animal itself in different stages; milking, heifer, calf and so on and selling of few dairy products also found in the study area.

Table 14: Annual Income Earning from Dairy per Household

Description	Small	Medium	Large
Selling Milking Cow	1,681.82	4756.76	
Heifer (cow)		739.72	
Cow Milk	43,363.09	44,980.33	17,793.75
Milking Buffalo		2,122.97	
Dry Buffalo	328.18	378.37	
Heifer (Buffalo)		216.21	
She calf		14.46	
He calf	100.00	277.92	
Bullock		56.75	
Buffalo Milk	19,045.90	20,137.33	20,394.37
Ghee		199.32	
Manure	1,909.09	113.51	
Manure Self Use	3,415.00	5,177.00	10,581.00
Gross Income	69,843.08	79,170.65	48,769.12
Total Production Cost	56,213.30	59,898.65	45,581.05
Net Income	13,629.78	19,272.00	3,188.07
Net Return to Farm	42,242.08	51,860.65	36,086.07

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Unit Nepali Rupees, \$1= NRs 77.00

Note: Net income = Gross Income-Total Production Cost

Net return to farm = Net Income + Self Inputs (feed + labour + manure)

Table 14 shows the highest income earning comes from selling of milk in all three groups of farmers. The gross income is about 1.5 times higher in small and medium than large farmers though large farmers owned higher mean animal. This means there is higher tendency of small and medium farmers in involving in dairy farming for income generation. Whereas in case of large farmer they have more tendency in involving in dairy is for self-consumption as their consumption pattern is higher than small and medium farmers. According to the large farmers, the main purpose of rearing dairy animals is to get manure for their farmland and for self-milk consumption rather than selling. They used to sell surplus milk occasionally.

Milk Production and Consumption Pattern: Milk production is the major income generating source of the dairy farmers in the study area. Fresh milk consumption among household is common in the study area as other parts of the country. Majority of sampled household member drink milk regularly. Children and old family member has given priority in drinking milk. The use of milk for tea is common practice in the study area.

Table 15 shows the annual milk production and consumption per household according to farm size. The average amount of milk production among the small and medium farmer is more than double that of large farmer. Similarly small and medium farmer sell more than 80% of total milk production while large farmer sell only 58% of total milk production per household. This implies small and medium farmers have high tendency to earn income from selling milk. Milk consumption is higher 42% among the large farmer where as small and medium farmer consume only 16% and 20% respectively from their total milk production. The consumption pattern among larger farmer is higher. However, per capita milk consumption is one of the lowest among the large farmer with the maximum family size compare to other two farmer's group. Since the study area is dairy pocket area, the overall per capita milk consumption is much higher than that of national average.

Table 15: Milk Production and Consumption per Household by Farm Size

Farm Size	Milk Production (Kg)	Milk Sale (Kg)	Milk Consumption (Kg)	Per Capita Milk Consumption (Kg/head)
Small	3117.5	2609.8 (84%)	507.7 (16%)	101.3
Medium	3145.1	2521.4 (80%)	623.7 (20%)	106.5
Large	1743.8	1004.6 (58%)	739.1 (42%)	76.2
Total	3037.8	2423.4 (80%)	614.4 (20%)	103.1
National Per Capita Milk Consumption (Kg/head)				48.4
Basic Need Level Recommended by WHO (Kg/Head)				57.8

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Annual Income from Different Occupations: Household level income information on income from different occupation is important for policy analysis and improvement of people's livelihood. Although agriculture is the mainstay of the village economy, some people have shifted to trading and government/private services as their main occupation to maintain livelihood. During the off-farm season, people migrate to towns and market centre in the same district such as Narayanghat, Bharatpur Bazar and so on for income. The main income generating activities found in the study area can be characterized in two sectors; farming and non-farming. Farming includes

crop farming, livestock farming and other farm related activities. Non-farming includes clerical job, business and professional job. The percentage of engaging in farming is as higher as 77% of the total economically active sampled population. It is followed by clerical job (13%), (7%) professional and 3% business.

Table 16 shows the mean income earned from dairy production is one of the lowest in large farmers, i. e. NRs. 38,722 though they own higher number of dairy animal compared to medium and small farmer. While nearly double and two-third income from the same source was earned by medium and small farmers respectively. One reason for this difference can be landholding size. Some of large farmers also reported that they did not have to be fully engaged in commercial-scale dairy farming because they obtained a sufficient amount of income from crop farming as well as non-farm based activities. They are rearing dairy animal for the reason of self-consumption of milk and manure for their farmland. The same Table shows income earning of large farmer from crop farming and clerical job is one of the highest compared to other two groups about i. e. NRs. 63,000 and NRs. 96,000 thousand respectively. Medium and small farmer earned very less income from non-farm based activities, as their education level is also lower than that of large farmers.

Table 16: Annual Income from Different Income Sources per Household

Farm Size	HH	Farm Based		Non-farm Based			Total HH Income
		Crop	Dairy	Business	Clerical Job	Professional Job	
Small	22	9,239 (11%)	42,242 (52%)	2,273 (3%)	23,045 (29%)	4,364 (5%)	81,163 (100%)
Medium	74	18,578 (16%)	51,861 (45%)	4,460 (4%)	27,216 (24%)	13,068 (11%)	115,183 (100%)
Large	8	44,499 (25%)	36,086 (20%)		80,250 (44%)	19,500 (11%)	180,335 (100%)
No of HH member engaging in		77%		7%	13%	3%	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2002, Unit: Nepali Rupees (NRs.), \$1 = NRs. 77.00

Farming: Crop & Livestock;

Business: Shopkeeper, Trade.

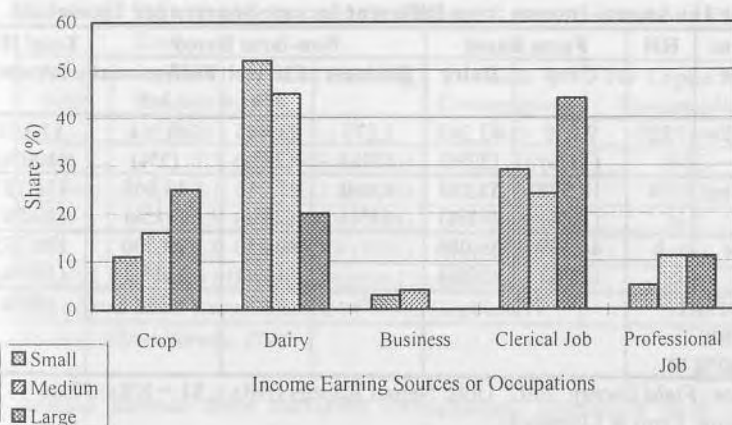
Clerical job: Service, Computer Operator, and Meter Reader.

Professional Job: Teacher, Writer, Driver, Nurse, Police, Army, and Technician.

Share of Different Household Occupation in Total Household Income

In order to calculate the contribution of income from dairy farming to the total household income, it is important to know the share of other income sources as well. The percentage share of income from different income sources is presented in Figure 7. It shows the percentage share of dairy farming is decreasing according to the farm size of the sampled household. Small farmers have maximum share of dairy income in their total household income. It is followed by medium and large farmers. The share of dairy income is found to be significant in small and medium farmer, which contributes 52% and 45% in small and medium farmers respectively to their total household income. The rest of the share come from crop farming and non-farm activities. The share of income from clerical job is higher in the case of large farmer compared to small and medium farmers. It may be because of their higher education level compared to other farmer groups, which provides them better opportunities in non-farm activity like clerical job. There is also little contribution to their total household income from non-farm based activities such as clerical job and professional job in case of small and medium farmers. These are, however, mostly come from jobs abroad.

Figure 7: Percentage Share of Different Income Sources According to Farm size



Source: Field Survey, 2002

Conclusion

Nepal is an agrarian country and its economy strongly depends on agriculture and related activities. The livelihood of large proportion of people depends

on this business. High population growth causes declines in size of farmland that is leading to the decreasing trend of productivity of food grains. Dairy farming is regarded as an important income generating activity for the rural people where livestock is integral part of farming system and majority of people is living in subsistence level. Dairy farming is such an activity, which does not require large resources, labour intensive and can generate income within short period of time.

In this case study, the economy of households in the study area depends upon the agriculture and related business. Most of the farm households in the study area have small size of land holdings so this has direct impact on crop yields. Besides this, people are also engaging other different economic activities, which includes non-farm based, such as business, professional job and clerical job. The most viable business that is closely related to agriculture in the study area is dairy farming. Most of the farmers are keeping cows and buffaloes for milk as well as organic manure for crop cultivation in their own farmland. The finding shows that the contribution of the dairy farming to the total household income is found to be significant in household level. This contribution is higher in small farmers and medium farmers as compared to large farmers because large farmers have other economic opportunities as compared to small farmers. Dairy farming is consuming household labour more efficiently as almost all labour use in the dairy is family labour. This indicates that dairy sector development has direct impact on the contribution of household income in rural areas. The demand of livestock products like milk and milk product is increasing day by day as population increasing. Therefore, this sector can contribute for the betterment of the rural livelihood particularly to the small household, which has less opportunity to engage in other economic alternatives. Development of livestock sector such as provision of extension services; introduction of improved breed, good animal health service, and provision of cheap feed to the farmers, can enhance dairy production in the rural area.

Notes

1. Geographically, Nepal is divided into three regions, Mountain, Hill and Tarai. The Tarai, being an extension of the Gangetic plains of India, forms a low flat land, ranging from 22m to 600m above, mean sea level. It stretches along the southern boundary of the country. It comprises only 23 % of the total land of the country and accommodates 47% of population. This region includes most of the fertile land and dense forest. About 40% of land is suitable for cultivation.
2. Traditional energy refers to fuelwood, agricultural residue and animal dung. Commercial energy refers to electricity, petroleum products, gasoline and so on. For further details see (Singh and Maharajan, 2003).
3. It is made at home, predominately from maize flour, rice bran, salt and kitchen waste in about 2-3 liters of water and boiled. The amount per day varies from 0.5-1 kg/day/animal given during or after milking).

4. Tarai region in Nepal is divided into two parts Inner Tarai and Outer Tarai. Inner Tarai is the river valley between Mahabharat Hills (Southern Hill-2000m) and Siwalik Hills (Tarai Hills-600m). Inner Tarai is also divided into three regions. Eastern Inner Tarai which includes Udaypur and Sindhuli Districts, Central Inner Tarai, which includes Chitwan and Makawanpur District and the western Inner Tarai that includes Dang Duckhuri districts.
5. Fixed cost such as depreciation cost for animal, animal shed and equipment used were excluded in the study. It is difficult to evaluate animal depreciation cost due to the various matters such as animal type, size, age and calving stage. In the case of animal shed and equipment, it is also difficult to evaluate the depreciation cost. Because majority of farmers are using same animal shed for dairy animals and other small animals and using same equipment for dairy as well as crop farming.

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Annex A: Milk Collection Network under Different Milk Supply Schemes in Nepal

Scheme	MPAs	MPCs	CC	District Covered
KMSS	53	416	14	9
BMSS	4	126	9	7
HMSS	-	200	8	5
PMSS	16	93	6	7
LMSS	1	42	3	5
MPMSS	-	33	3	3
MP & DS	-	21	-	7
Total	74	931	43	43

Source: DDC, 2003

Note:

MPAs: Milk Producer's Association
MPCs: Milk Producer's Cooperatives
CC: Milk Collection Centre

RITUAL MOVEMENT IN THE CITY OF LALITPUR

Mark A. Pickett

This article intends to explore the ways that the symbolic organization of space in the Newar city of Lalitpur (Patan) is renewed through ritualized movement in the many processions that take place throughout the year. Niels Gutschow (1982: 190-3) has done much to delineate the various processions and has constructed a typology of four different forms.¹ In my analysis I build on this work and propose a somewhat more sophisticated typology of processions that differentiates the types still further.

Sets of Deities

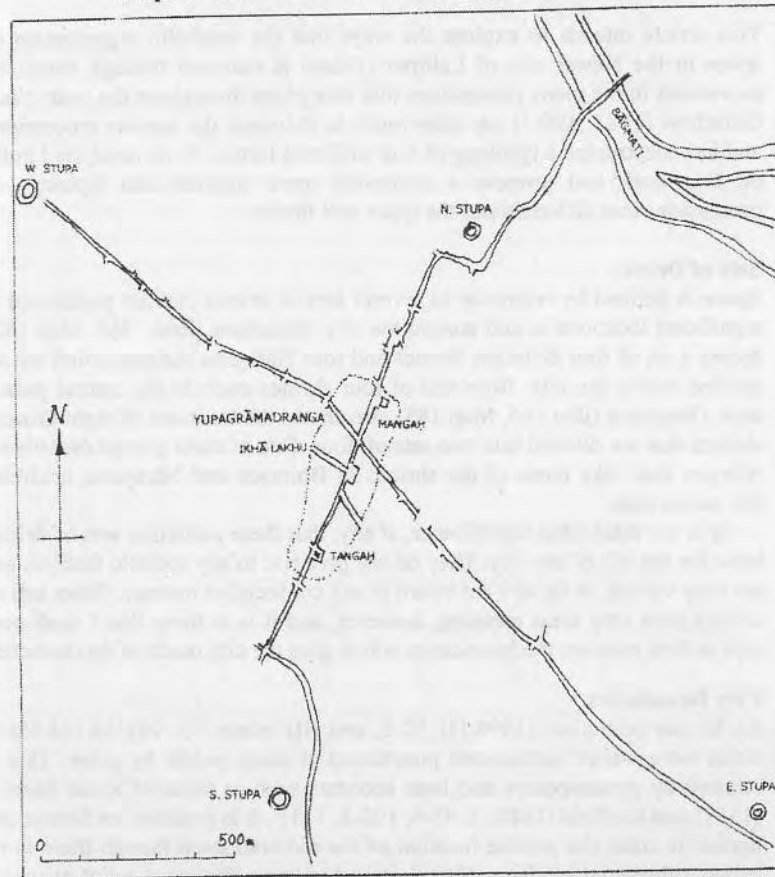
Space is defined by reference to several sets of deities that are positioned at significant locations in and around the city. Gutschow (ibid.: 165, Map 182) shows a set of four Bhimsen shrines and four Nārāyana shrines which are all located within the city. Both sets of four shrines encircle the central palace area. Gutschow (ibid.: 65, Map 183) also shows the locations of eight Ganesh shrines that are divided into two sets of four. One of these groups describes a polygon that, like those of the shrines of Bhimsen and Nārāyana, encircles the palace area.

It is not clear what significance, if any, that these particular sets of deities have for the life of the city. They do not give rise to any specific festival, nor are they visited, as far as I am aware in any consecutive manner. Other sets of deities have very clear meaning, however, and it is to these that I shall now turn to first more on the boundaries which give the city much of its character.

City Boundaries

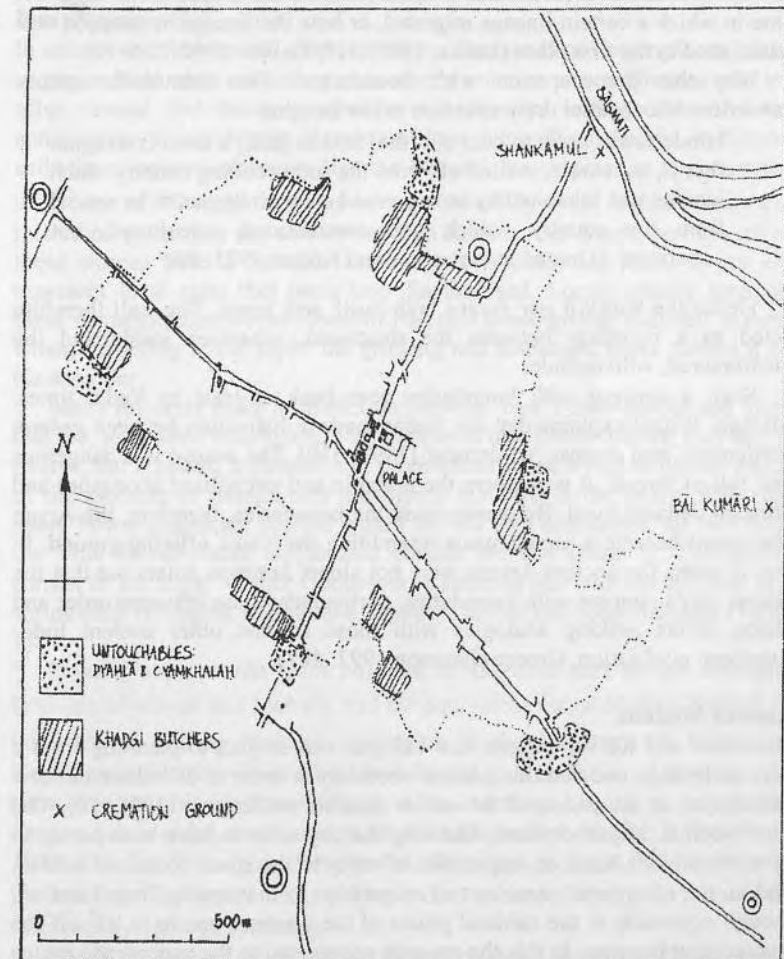
As Slusser points out (1998 [I]: 92-3, and [II]: plates 95; 96) the old Malla cities were walled settlements punctuated at many points by gates. This is attested by contemporary and later accounts such as those of Kunu Sharma (1961) and Oldfield (1981: 1, 95-6, 102-3, 111)². It is possible, as Slusser did herself to trace the precise location of the old wall even though there is no extant substantial evidence. Local residents know the exact point at which they are within (*dune*) or outside (*pine*) the old walls. Place names such as Kwalkhu (Kwālakhu) and Ikhā Lakhu tell of former gates and boundaries going back, in the latter case, to pre-Malla times (Map 1).

Local residents tell of twelve or more gates that used to perforate the walls of Malla era Lalitpur. When asked where exactly the gates were, however, they are often at a loss to give the precise locations of more than at the top, had the names of only two gates: *tah dhvākā* on the west and *jhval dhvākā* on east.

Map 1: The Licchavi town of Yapagrāmadranga

The easiest way to tell where several of the gates were placed, however, is by an analysis of the locations of some of the low castes. Although most residents of Lalitpur were not intentionally situated at any particular distance from the city centre, two low caste groups were clearly located on, or relocated to the boundaries of the city at some time in the distant past. The Dyahlā Untouchables were placed immediately outside the old Mallā city gates, whereas the (unclean but touchable) Khadgi Butchers were, for the most part, placed immediately inside.³ Since these castes still live largely in their traditional localities, the simple matter of distinguishing one caste from the other can lead to, at particular locations, precise mapping of old city

boundaries (Map 2). The Dyahlā were to be located not simply outside the city wall but more particularly outside the gates. In this way their polluted presence would protect the city from marauders or evil spirits (*bhut/pre*) which, like the city's inhabitants, would also find them repulsive.

Map 2: Centre and periphery in city space⁴

Further evidence for this emphasis on the importance of the division between the 'inside' and 'outside' of the city is provided by an analysis of Lineage Deity sites. Lineage Deities are always sited outside the settlement.

The reason for this is not clear, although their resemblance as natural stones (*Prākṛit*), to the aniconic *pithas* may have something to do with it. Perhaps also the relation of the cult of the Lineage Deity with the worship of dead ancestors (*pitri*) led to such an association. Many lineages retain an oral history of the establishment or relocation of their Lineage Deity. It is possible, then, by comparing these oral historical accounts with the actual cult and location of these shrines to make some tentative deductions about the time in which a certain lineage migrated, or how the lineage in question was established in the first place (Locke, 1985: 517; Gellner 1992: 239-40).

Why this preoccupation with boundaries? The nineteenth century Sanskritist Max Müller drew attention to the fact that

Hindu towns seem to bear out [the] notion [that] a town is a region that is, as it were, walled off from the surrounding country. Such land as was inhabited by an organised community had to be set off from the country, which was unstructured, uncultured, not 'urbanized'. (Quoted in Gutschow and Kölver 1975: 20)

Hence the Sanskrit *pur* means both 'wall' and 'town'. The wall therefore acted as a boundary between the structured, urbanised inside and the unstructured, wild outside.

Such a concern with boundaries goes back at least to Vedic times. Michael Witzel explains that the Vedas made a distinction between *grāma*, 'settlement', and *aranya*, 'wilderness' (1997: 519). The *aranya* was dangerous and full of threats. It was where the barbaric and uncivilised aborigines and dreaded demons lived. By demarcating the boundaries, therefore, the Aryan settlement became a sacred space resembling the Vedic offering ground. In this it seems the ancient Aryans were not alone. Jameson points out that the Newar city's concern with boundaries, particularly those between order and chaos, offers striking analogies with those of that other ancient Indo-European civilisation, Greece (Jameson 1997: 487).

Ashoka Mounds

Gutschow and Kölver suggest that Lalitpur was subject to planning from a very early stage and that this became necessary in order to delimitate the new foundation on the fusion of the earlier separate settlements (1975: 20). The four mounds (*stupas* or *thurs*) that ring the city seem to have been set up to give, on the one hand, an expression of unity to the space contained within, and on the other hand some sort of orientation to that space. Their location, though notionally at the cardinal points of the compass are up to 24° off the true geographic axes. In this the mounds correspond to the major trade routes described above (Map 1: cf. Gutschow 1982: 154). Most of the streets of Lalitpur are laid out in a grid pattern roughly parallel to these trade routes. It would seem that the city grew up self-consciously oriented by the four

mounds which themselves were built to sanctify the space within and lend some legitimacy, if it was needed, to the development of the city through its trade. Could it also be significant that, located, as they are at the four entry points of what was, after all, a crossroads the *stupas* were intended to counteract the inauspiciousness of this node?⁵

Power-places

In and around the city of Lalitpur there are thousands of Power-places (*pitha* or *pigandiyah*) each consisting of a simple unhewn stone. These stones are often several feet below ground level with steps leading down for the convenience of worshipper. Rarely are these 'hyperethral shrines', as Slusser calls them, covered although, like the Bhavani Power-place in the courtyard of 'House' of Managh, they may be surmounted by brass *nāga* serpents and related paraphernalia and surrounded by a stone border. Many, perhaps, all of these shrines have a Sanskrit name but it is clear that most, if not all, represent local cults that were later Sanskritised. Locals usually interpret these shrines as sites where pieces of Pārvati's decomposing body fell to earth when, according to the myth, the grieving and distraught Shiva carried it on his shoulder.

Many residents make a distinction between 'true' Power-places and those that are, as it were, interlopers. The number of true Power-places, they say, is twelve, but a heated argument will often ensue when trying to define which of the plethora of possibilities are rightly included in the group. Although many Power-places are located within the old city boundaries, all twelve of the True Power-places are located outside the city (Map 3). The twelve consist of the Eight Mother Goddesses (Ashtamātrika) with the addition of a shrine each belonging to Bhairava, Kumar, Ganesh and Siddhilakshmi (Table 1).

Power-place worship (*pith puja*) is an essential part of the autumnal festivals of yēnyah and Mohani, and the equivalent vernal Mohani festival of Pāhā Cahre. During Mohani, procession to the Power-places begins on Kayashtami (Bhādra- *Shukla*/Yālāthwa 8) and goes on for a full lunar month. Most Newars visit the Power-Places in the mornings playing as they go the *damaru* (*dabu dabu*, small, one-handed double-headed drum) (cf. Gutschow, 1982: 173, fig. 194). Maharjans, on the other hand, visit the Power-places in the evening playing the *dhimay* (large, double-headed drum) and *bhusayāḥ* (accompanying large cymbals).

The Eight Mother Goddesses (Ashtamātrika) are worshipped everywhere around the Kathmandu valley as manifestations of Devi, the Goddess, the city of Bhaktapur can be neatly divided into nine sectors corresponding to the Eight Mother Goddesses plus a ninth, central goddess, that are situated at Power-Places around its perimeter (cf. Gutschow's map in Levy, 1990: 155).

In spite of Toffin's claim to the contrary (1991: 484) it is not at all easy to trace an eight-fold division in Lalitpur corresponding to the Eight Mother Goddesses. Rather, as Barré et al. (1981: 117) have pointed out for Panauti, there seems to be only two, or perhaps three, of the Mother Goddesses that have a significant cult – Mahālakshmi, Bāl Kumāri and Vishnu Devi. If there is, in fact, an eight-fold division it is not at all as well developed as it is in Bhaktapur. Furthermore, there are no 'god houses' (*dyah ché*) within the city corresponding to Power-places outside as there are in Bhaktapur (Levy 1990: 23; Vergati 1995: 39).

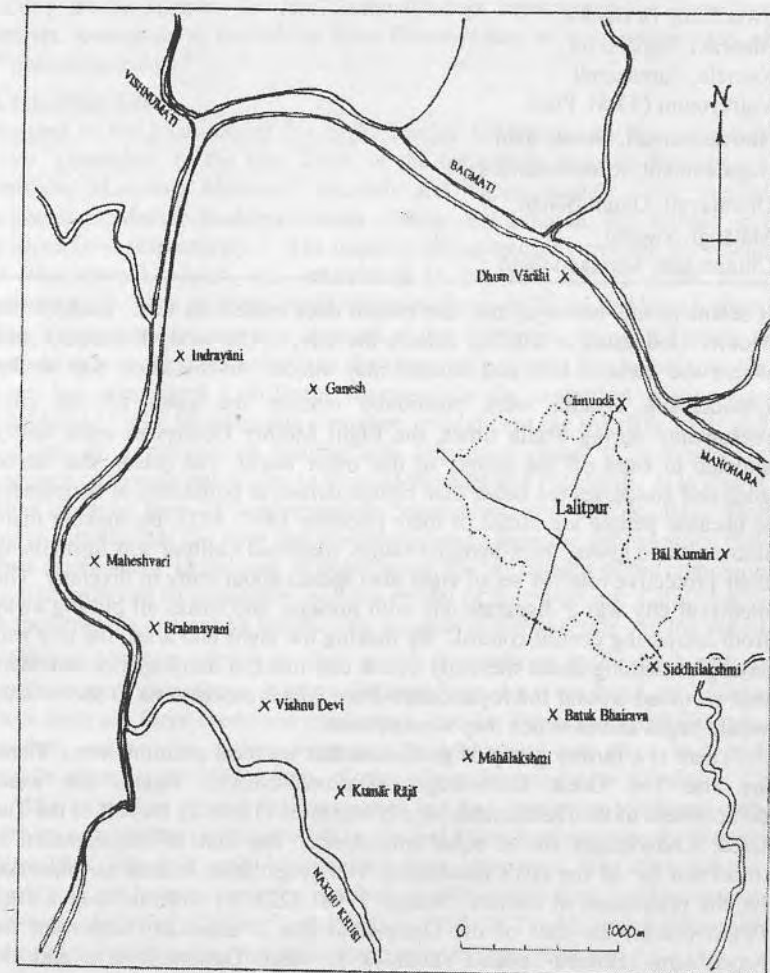
Table 1: The Twelve 'true' Power-places of Lalitpur⁶

Batuk Bhairava, Lagankhel
Mahālakshmi (*), Tasi (S)
Kumār Rājā, Kusunti
Vishnu Devi (Vaishnavi) (*), Yappa (SW)
Brahmayani (*), Neku
Maheshvari (Rudrayani) (*), Palinka
Indrayāni (*), Lwahāgalah (NW)
Ganesh, Hasapatah
Dhuma Vārāhi (*), Dhantila (NW)
Camunda (Sikali) (*), Sikabahi, Shankhamul (N)
Bāl Kumāri (*), Kwachē (E)
Siddhilakshmi (Siddhi Caran) Bangi

(*denotes Mother Goddess, *mātrikā*)

Apart from the significance of the Eight Mother Goddesses for the festivals outlined above, Lalitpurians also do Power-place worship during the course of various life-cycle rituals. It is instructive to map the Power-place worship of various lineages. An analysis of Power-Place Worship of those Pengu Dah (Tamvāh, Marikāhmi, Sikāhmi, and Lwahākāhmi) who still live within the confines of the old city, for instance, demonstrates that the attachment to a particular Power-place is determined by two factors: descent and location. Ultimately location wins over descent as, when a group moves on a permanent basis, they take up the worship of the Power-place that is related to that locality. Their traditional Power-place cult is not necessarily abandoned, however, and at important life-cycle events a *pujā* will be offered to both.

Map 3: The Twelve 'True Power-places of Lalitpur



The question arises as to the purpose of these Mother Goddess shrines. It would seem that we are dealing here with the systematising of a number of existing deities into a set in order to give some form to them and raise their significance for the city as a whole. Gutschow and Kölver (1975:21) suggest that the system of the Eight Mother Goddesses was probably meant to raise the status of what had become a royal settlement.

Table 2 The Ten Great Knowledges (Dashmahāvidya) of Lalitpur⁸

Tripurasundari, Bāl Kumāri, Cāka Bahi
Swet Kālī, Ta Bāhāh
Bhairavi, Bahālukhā
Kamālā, Purnacandī
Vajrāyoginī (Tārā), Puco
Bhuvaneshvari, Nakah Bahi
Bāgalāmukhi, Kumbheshvārā
Dhumavati, Dhum Bāhāh
Mātāngī, Swatha
Chinamasta, Mamadu Galli

It seems to me, however, that the system does more than this. Each of the Mother Goddesses is situated outside the city, in the wild, disordered land where the demons lurk and bandits may attack. In the same way as the Untouchable Dyahlā were positioned outside the gates of the city, presumably during Malla times, the Eight Mother Goddesses were neatly situated to ward off the danger of that other world. The reason that fierce gods and goddesses are better than benign deities as policemen of boundaries is because people are afraid of them (Gellner 1997: 552). By making them into a set and giving them Sanskrit names, medieval Lalitpur was formalising their protective role. A set of eight also speaks about unity in diversity. The medieval city was a disparate one with lineages and castes all pulling away from increasing central control. By making the eight into a set, the city was saying something about the unity of the city itself; a unity against outsiders that revolved around the royal centre from which processions to the outside would begin and to which they would return.

There is a further group of goddesses that we must examine here. These are the Ten Great Knowledges (Dashmahāvidya). Again, the exact complement of the Dashmahāvidya is contested (Table 2). Not all of the Ten Great Knowledges are of equal importance. The cult of Bāgalāmukhi is important for all the city's inhabitants. Her propitiation is seen as important for the prevention of cholera (Slusser 1998: 322). As with the twelve 'true' Power-places, the cult of the Dashmahāvidya is especially important for Kayashami (Bhādra- *shukla*-Yālāthwa 8) when Dashmahāvidya and the Ashtamātrika are not so much in their number as in their location. With the exception of Vajrāyoginī (Tārā) of Puco, each of the Great Knowledges, accompanied, in its vicinity, by an image of Bhairava, is located within the confines of the city (Map 4).⁹ They are not, however, evenly distributed throughout as one might expect; none are located further east than Tripurasundari in Cāka Bahi. Dil Mohan Tamrakar is of the opinion that the Dashmahāvidya represents an older group of protective deities that were once

situated outside the boundaries of the settlement. Indeed, he reported a tradition that the image of Bāl Kumāri at Kwāchē is a copy of the one at Cāka Bahi, which is located adjacent to that of Tripurasundari.¹⁰ It seems highly probable, then, that the Dashmahāvidya represented the protective deities, analogous to the twelve True Power-places, of the Licchavi city of Yupagrāmadranga.¹¹

Cremation Sites

Related to the locations of the Eight Mother Goddesses are the cremation sites (*mashān*) of the city. Three of the cremation grounds—Shankhamul *mashān*, Manohara Manimati *mashān* and Yappa *mashān*—are located adjacent to Mother Goddess shrines—those of Cāmundā, Bāl Kumāri and Vishnu Devi respectively.¹² The majority of Lalitpurians cremate their dead at Shankhamul, which was refurbished in the 19th century under Rana patronage.¹³ Each of these three cremation grounds is located near a river. The Yappa *mashān*, however, located at the Vaishnavi shrine at Nakhu, is surprisingly at some distance from the river itself. Could this be because the river has meandered a different course since the cremation ground was established? The Shankhamul cremation ground is at the riverside itself and consists of a number of bathing and cremation *ghāts*. It is similar in appearance though not in size to those at Banāras and Pashupati. It is also at some distance from its accompanying Power-place, that of Cāmundā. One could surmise that the river had meandered away from the shrines since they were established. In the case of Shankhamul the importance of the cremation ground enforced its relocation with the retreat of the riverbank. Lalitpurians, in fact, make a distinction between the *mashān* at the riverside and the actual cremation platform (*depaḥ* or *dip*) which is usually up on the bank and, as we have seen, sometimes at some distance from the river itself. At Vishnu Devi there are three cremation platforms—one for Vajrācāryas and Shākyas, another, nearest the shrine, belonging to Maharjans and other high and middle castes, and a third at some distance from the two for the Khadgi.

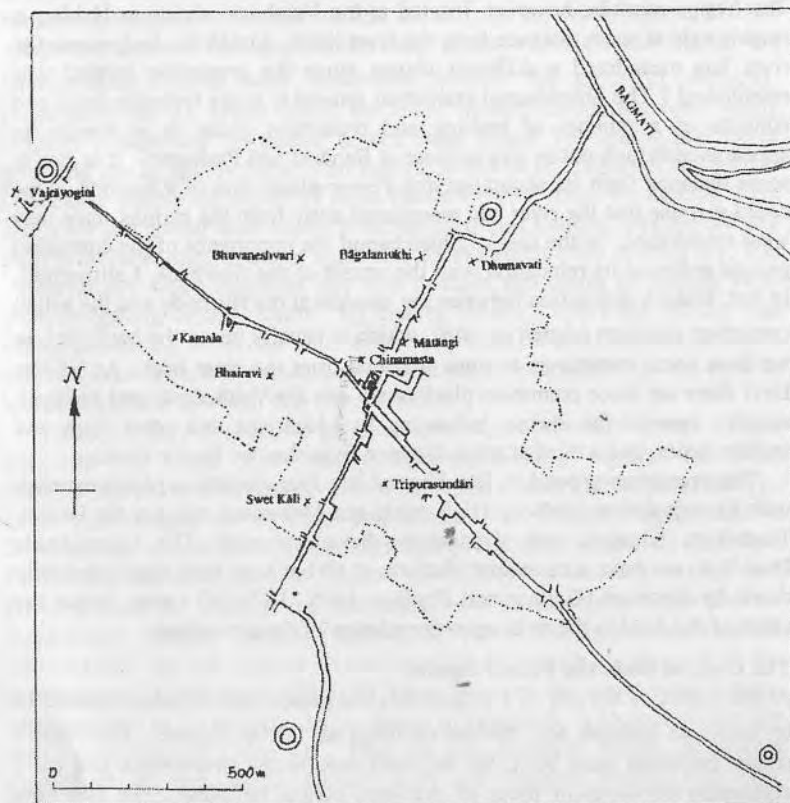
The cremation ground at Shankhamul has four cremation platforms each with its own shelter (*phālca*). High castes and Maharjans may use the largest. Tandukārs, Khadgis, and Vyanjankārs have one each. The Untouchable Dyahlā do not have a cremation platform at all but burn their dead separately down by the river (Gellner and Pradhan 1995: 167). All castes throw the ashes of the dead in the river upon completion of the cremation.

The Central Hub: the Palace Square

At the centre of the city of Lalitpur, lies the palace area (*lāyaku*) referred to by locals as Mangaḥ and marked on maps as 'Darbār Square'. The present palace buildings were built, for the most part, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in place of previous palace buildings. The site now occupied by the palace seems to have been the seat of the monarchy from

Licchavi times. The adjacent water fountain, the Mangahhiti, was built around 400 AD. and is the oldest known structure in the locality. Local tradition relates that the palace was moved to its present site from a mound at Patuko, one block north and west of Mangah, during Licchavi times. According to this tradition, the Patuko mound was built by the Kirāti kings (Shrestha and Malla 1971: 36; Gellner 1996: 129; Landon 1876: 209). The myths of origin of the nearby Kwā Bāhāh refer to oppression by the Kirāti who were forced from their palace by hundreds of bees and chased to the locality of Cyāsah to the northeast where eight hundred (*cyā sah*) of them died. Lalitpurians regard the Vyanjankār caste, which inhabits Cyāsah, as the descendants of those who survived.

Map 4: The Ten Great Knowledges (Dashmahāvidya) of Lalitpur



The relocation of the palace to its present site, precisely at the intersection of the two major trade routes seems to have been an attempt to express spatially what was already a reality politically that the king was the centre of the life of the city. We will look at this more later on when we consider the movement of gods around city space.

The legitimization of the central role of kingship in Lalitpur was accomplished first and foremost by the construction of various temples within and in front of the new palace. The present day arrangement of monuments in Lalitpur's palace square demonstrates a very carefully thought out strategy to sanctify the central, royal space by establishing a number of seats of gods. The intended effect of this sanctification was no doubt to lend legitimacy to the king's reign. The amazing density of concentration of major temples of brick and stone in such a small area bears testimony to careful design. Although the buildings are of very divergent designs and built with various materials the overall visual effect is not crowded. Nineteenth and early twentieth century foreign observers marvelled at the beauty of the square as does many a tourist today. Since its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979 many of the monuments have undergone extensive restoration. The architect Sekler (1987: 66-7) describes the design of the space thus:

By having related heights, horizontal lines were carried from one building to the next and all this helped to unify the overall impression. Were it not for the unification through these means and through the underlying ordering principles of number and measure, the total impact might have been too restless, even disturbing, owing to the strong contrasts of shapes, textures and colours. As it is, unity and diversity balance each other in a most successful manner.

Why was it so important to design the square with such an approach? The architects were without a doubt expressing certain values by doing so.

The strong visual order imposed on the buildings of the Darbar square in all likelihood was based on an equally powerful and complex belief-system. This order, together with the outstanding artistic craftsmanship of the masters of the past and with the originally impeccable-now, alas, broken-hierarchy of scale, made Patan Darbar Square one of the great historic urban spaces of the world (ibid.: 67).

So the overall effect of the location and design of the Palace Square is to demonstrate the unity of the city around and under the rulership of her king. This centrality of kingship, though, since the conquest of Lalitpur by Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1768 greatly weakened politically, is still strongly expressed ritually. We will see how this works below.

Ritual Movement through Space

There are several procession routes (Skt. *pradakshināpatha*) in the city of Lalitpur. Processions following these routes vary greatly in significance for the city. The great festival of Matayā, for instance, attracts many thousands of devotees, whereas the Narasimha Jātrā, which follows a different route, is essentially the province of only one caste.

It is helpful at this point to tease out a typology of the procession routes for the city and to try to discern the significance of each one within the overall context of the annual march of the calendar.

One could take as the most basic division between the processions, those that have the worship of a deity as their main *raison d'être* and those that do not. The only one that falls in the latter category, however, is the funeral procession, or 'Way of the Dead'. Another basic division, at least for the vast majority of those processions that are for the purpose of worship, is between those in which the devotees visit fixed images of the deities, and those in which movable images are transported through city space.

Table 3: A typology of Processions

Centrifugal		Ways of the dead (<i>Silāpu</i>)
		Gathā Mugah
Linear		Mahālakshmi Jātrā Bāl Kumāri Jātrā Vishnu Devī Jātrā Būgadyah Jātrā Kwenādyah Jātrā
Centripetal	Royal	Sā Faru Nyaku Jātrā Matayā Ganesh Pujā Narasimha Jātrā Krishna Jātrā Bhimsen Jātrā
	Convolutd	Bāhāh Pujā Matayā Krishna Pujā Bhimsen Pujā Dashmahāviçyā Pujā Vasundharā Pujā
	Excursive	Pitha Pujā

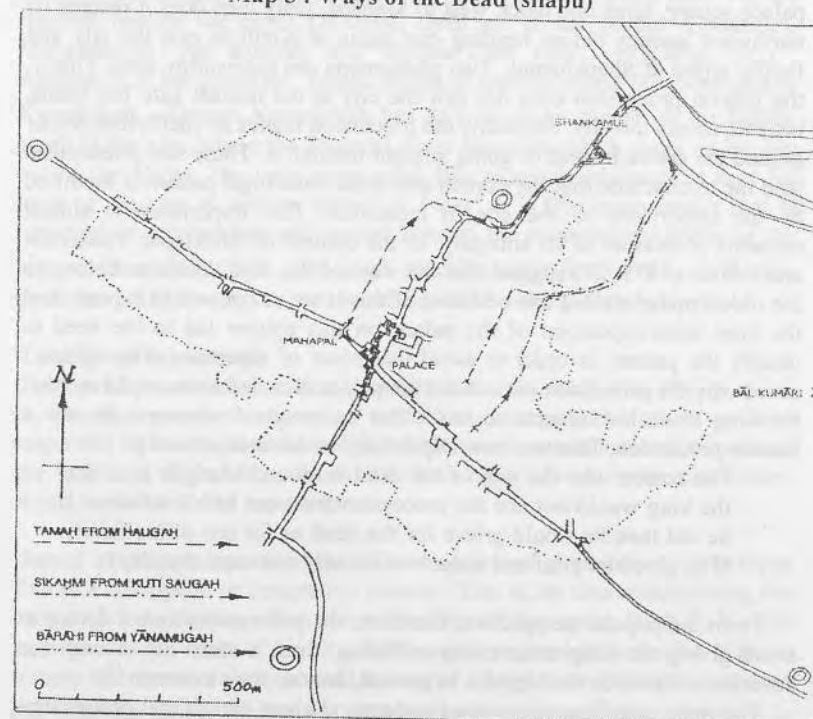
Niels Gutschow (1982: 190-3) has differentiated four types of procession route: centrifugal, linear, centripetal, and convoluted. The last two seem to be variations of the same category. Moreover, Gutschow counts Pitha Pujā as a centrifugal procession. Although it does include an excursion from the city I

include it as a separate type of centripetal procession because it is, nevertheless, focused on the centre, as I will demonstrate. I have, therefore, constructed a new typology that attempts to take these factors into consideration (Table 3).

Centrifugal Processions

Certain processions are centrifugal, that is, they start at the centre, or at least on the inside, of the city and work their way outside (ibid.: 193, fig. 233). The classic festival in which centrifugal procession plays a significant part is that of Gathā Mugah which takes place in the middle of the monsoon. Effigies of the demon Gathā Mugah are constructed by children during the day and in the evening carried out of the city on a clearly defined route to a place where it is burned.

Map 5 : Ways of the Dead (silāpu)



The other procession to take a centrifugal character is that of the funeral (Map 5).¹⁴ On the death of a resident, pallbearers, other members of the death *guthi*, family members, and friends gather at the house of the dead. In a short

time, the corpse is brought out, a procession forms and then moves at, what seems to a European, a hurried pace through the streets of the dead person's locality (*twāh*) and on through the city to the cremation ground outside. The route, the 'way of the dead' (*silāpu*), is always the same. Everyone knows the route that he will take on his last journey from his home, should he have the fortune of breathing his last breath at the place, for men at least, that he more than likely breathed his first. The route followed by each locality is, in most cases, an apparently rational one to the outsider, though not always. In some places a diversion seems to be made so that the route is not the most direct. The most glaring detour is that followed by the residents of the localities south of the royal palace.

A funeral procession from Haugah or Tangah, for instance, makes its way down the main road towards the palace at Mangah but then, instead of going straight down the road in front of the palace and the great temples of the palace square, turns one block west to Mahāpā. Only then does it resume its northward journey before heading east again at Konti to exit the city and finally arrive at Shankhamul. Two phenomena are noteworthy here. Firstly, the funeral procession does not exit the city at the nearest gate but heads, instead, across the city. Secondly, the procession makes an inefficient detour around the centre instead of going straight through it. These two phenomena lead me to conclude that the normal and ideal centrifugal pattern is modified by the importance of the site of cremation. This importance is almost certainly a measure of its antiquity. In the context of Bhaktapur, Gutschow and Kölver (1975: 27) suggest that the ways of the dead doubtless belong to the oldest materials that can be found. If this is so, as one would expect, then the later superimposition of the palace on this pattern led to the need to modify the pattern in order to avoid that place of supreme purity. When I asked why the procession must avoid the palace area, informants told me that the king loved his subjects so much that he mourned whenever he saw a funeral procession. This was how Dipak Lal Tamrakar expressed it:

The reason why the way of the dead is around Mangah is so that the king would not see the procession from out of his window. If he did then he would grieve for the dead as for one of his family. Why give him grief and make him eat only one meal that day?

From the popular perspective, therefore, the processions took a detour to avoid giving the king unnecessary suffering. Such a story fits in with the devotion with which the Nepalis, in general, honour their monarch.¹⁵

The main significance we must understand about centrifugal processions, however, is this need to remove impurity and vileness from the city. Both corpses and effigies of demons, representing the demons themselves must be taken out of the city. The city must be kept pure in order to function as a sacred space. All impurity must be removed. It can be said that the mundane

daily task of the city's sweepers, a group still consisting largely of the Untouchable Dyahlā, is also centrifugal entering the city as they do only to clear the rubbishes of urban life. In Malla times, in fact, they were only allowed into the city at daybreak and had to be out again before it got dark. Even today, one can enter one of the localities of the Dyahlā and be hit by the overpowering stench of the putrefying carcasses of dead dogs, that have been removed from the confines of the old city and simply left in front of the dwellings of the sweepers, who seem to be oblivious to the foetid atmosphere.

Linear Processions

The movement of deities through city space is affected, first of all, by whether those deities normally dwell within or without that space. Linear processions are those that, against along prescribed routes, enter from the outside, continue through city space and exit again to return to the deity's home (*ibid*). Several deities are carried through the city in this way. All are resident outside the city. Of these, three are of the Mother Goddesses, Mahālakshmi, Bāl Kumāri, and Vishnu Devi (*ibid*: 173, Fig. 195).¹⁶ Another is of the powerful, Tantric image of Ganesh called Jala Vinayaka or Kwenādyah. Though Kwenādyah has its own major temple at Co Bāhāh, south of the city, where the Bāgmati River flows through a gorge on its way out of the Valley, the large brass mask-like processional image is kept for most of the year at another temple at Puco. It is this heavy image that is mounted on a palanquin and carried through the southwestern sector of the city on its annual *jātrā*. The great annual chariot festival Būgadyah also describes a linear route, as one would expect of visiting deity (Map 6).

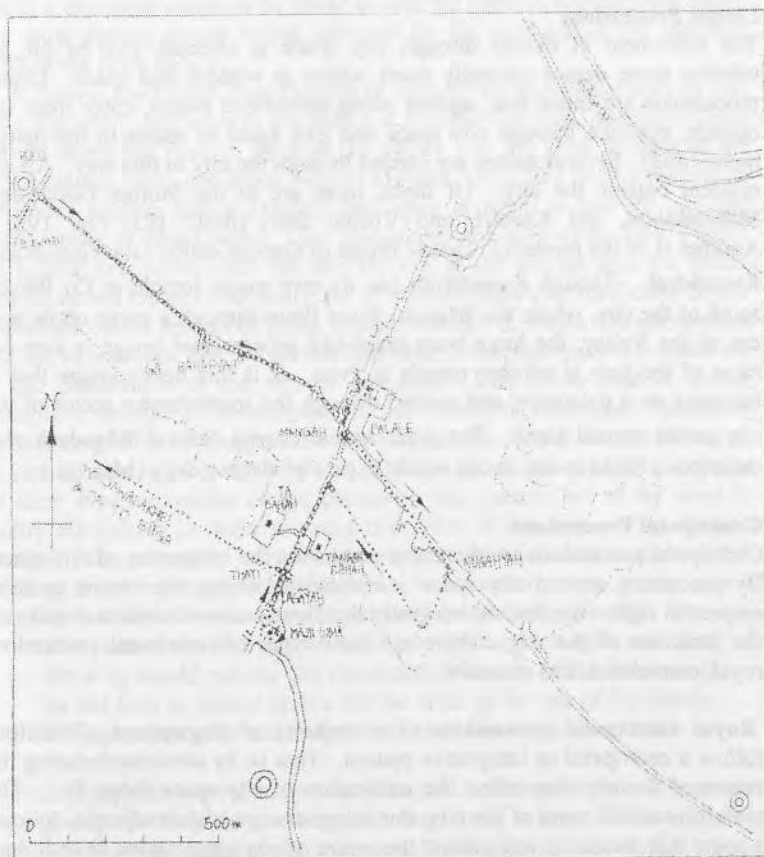
Centripetal Processions

Centripetal processions are those that emphasise the integration of city space. By processing around city space – clockwise keeping the centre on ones respectful right – the festival integrates the diverse communities that make up the localities of the city. There are three types of centripetal procession: royal, convoluted, and excursive.

Royal centripetal processions: The majority of processions of Lalitpur follow a centripetal or integrative pattern. That is, by circumambulating the centre of the city they effect the unification of city space (Map 7).¹⁷ The main procession route of the city, this integrative *pradakshināpatha*, follows a route that wends its way around the centre of city space taking in as it does ten localities (*twāh*). Such centripetal processions are those that take place in the festivals of Sā Pāru, Nyaku Jātrā, Matayā Ganesh Pujā, Narasimha Jātrā, Krishna Jātrā, and Bhimsen Jātrā. All centripetal processions follow a clockwise route – that is the centre of the city is always kept on the right of

the processing devotees. There is an important exception here, however. At the point immediately to the north of the royal palace, the procession does not circumambulate the city centre and the palace by progressing to the east and through the localities of Valakhu and Nyautā. Instead, the procession route takes a direct line to the centre taking the devotees immediately in front of the palace and thence east to Saugah and Nugah.

Map 6: The Linear Procession of the Jātrā



This integrative or centripetal *pradakshināpatha* has been designed so that it winds directly in front of the palace. Why is this? One thing we can be sure of is that this *pradakshināpatha* does not describe an older city boundary

as Barré *et al.* suggested for Panauti (198: 41) and Gutschow himself suggested for Bhaktapur (Gutschow and Kölver 1975: 21; cf. Toffin 1991). The route does not follow any known boundary that has been discovered by historians. Furthermore, there is no concept of inside and outside as there would be if the route were considered a boundary such as a wall. Rather, such a *pradakshināpatha* binds the city together as Gutschow later realised (1982: 190). But furthermore, and this is what makes this procession route different from the other kind of centripetal route (the convoluted one to which I will turn shortly) this route is a royal route. The event consciously includes the king in a way that convoluted processions do not, and hence I call this royal centripetal *pradakshināpatha*.¹⁸ Interestingly, in addition to using the designation *thya* for those who are invited to a feast or similar event, Lalitpurians also use in to refer to those who are allowed to take part in the Matayā and Nyaku Jatra, in a sense similar to that reported by Ishii for Satungal (1978).¹⁹ Certain localities (the ten through which the *pradakshināpatha* traverses) are *thya* – in, and certain are *ma thya* – out. The boundaries are very clearly and precisely understood. Haugah, Cāka Bahi, Saugah, and Ikha Lakhu, for instance are *thya* but Yānamugah, Kuti Saugah Gāsaḥ, and Tangah are *ma thya*. It is those *twaḥ* which are considered *thya* that today still have the rotating responsibility for Nyaku Jātrā. Some residents are of the opinion that Tangah, Kuti Saugah, Yānamugah, etc. were not part of the city when the festival was inaugurated.

All the festivals that make use of the royal centripetal *pradakshināpatha* take place during the dark half of the month of Gūlā.²⁰ What is the significance of this? Tradition has it that Buddha himself chose this month for his worship because no other gods would. There is more to it, though, as most of the *jātrās* that take place at this time, have nothing to do with Buddha at all. Sā Pāru, Narasimha Jātrā, Krishna Jātrā, and Bhimsen Jātrā in fact are unashamedly non-Buddhist. The explanation must be sought not in ideology but in structure. This lunar fortnight follows hard on the heels of the first lunar festival of the year – Gathā Mugah Cahre. In that festival we see a symbolic enactment of the removal of all that is base and evil from the city. As such it is a negative festival. It is there to undo the worst effects of that period of chaos, which resulted in the collapse of the urban order during the first and heaviest half of the monsoon. With the festivals of Gūlāgā (Bhādra-krishna *paksha*) we have the beginning of the positive reconstruction of that order. It is as if the people were saying that urban unity is of utmost importance.

I suspect that the royal centripetal *jātrās* of Gūlāgā (Bhādra-krishna *paksha*) are no older than the beginning of the Malla period, unless older *jātrās* changed their route to conform. It seems highly likely to me that King

Siddhi Narasimha Malla established the royal centripetal *pradakshināpatha* in the seventeenth century.

Large urban festivals both express and create cohesion in the city. As Clifford Geertz (1973: 93) remarks:

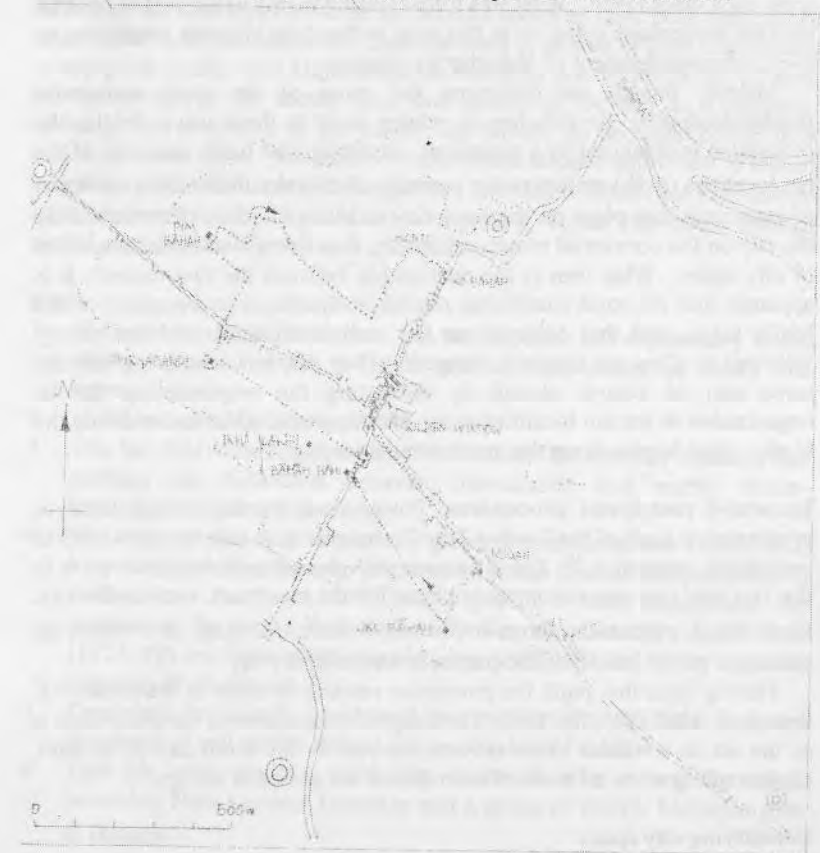
Culture patterns have an intrinsic double aspect; they give meaning, that is objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves.

Or, as Levy (1990: 199) puts it for Bhaktapur, the town's spatial divisions both give meaning to an take meaning from their special divinities, symbolic enactments and their associated legends and myths.

Convoluted centripetal processions: Gutschow's fourth type of procession is, for want of a better term, a 'convoluted' one but one that is nevertheless centripetal. This kind of procession is exemplified by Lalitpur's Matayā festival (Gutschow 1982: 190, fig. 226). Such a procession is integrative in that it circumambulates city space but not royal in the sense that Sā Paru is, as it pays no attention to the central space itself. Matayā is, in fact, the archetype of such processions as its modern analogues to other deities demonstrate. The purpose of such festivals, which includes the older Bāhāḥ Pujā as well as the modern Krishna Pujā and Bhimsen Pujā, is for each of the participants to visit each and every shrine of a particular deity within city space. In the case of Matayā this involves thousands of devotees walking, often barefooted, around the city on an extremely convoluted, but for all that ordered, route to each of the Buddhist votive shrines called *caityas* (or in more colloquial Newar, *cibhāḥs*) (cf. Gutschow 1982: 170, fig. 190). During the course of the procession the devotees also circumambulate the four mounds (*thur* or *stupa*) that are positioned at the four cardinal directions around the city. To reach three of these mounds it is necessary to make a detour, as it were, outside the old city boundaries as they were never encompassed by the old city's urban encroachment.

The procession of Bāhāḥ Pujā, which takes place the day before Matayā, visits each of the dozens of Buddhist monasteries around the town. In doing so, the line of devotees is forced to cross the centripetal *pradakshināpatha* at Keshav Nārāyana Cok, the northernmost courtyard of the royal palace. This is a most interesting and telling phenomenon as, at precisely the same time, the self-consciously *shivamārgi* procession of Sā Pāru is making its way around the city on the centripetal *pradakshināpatha*.

Map 7: The Royal Centripetal Procession Route



The line of Buddhist devotees then has to cross the procession of Sā Pāru. The reason for this is historical. In order to allow for the northward extension of the palace compound (with the building of Keshav Nārāyana Cok) the Malla kings of the early seventeenth century were compelled to uproot the monastery of Haḥ Bāhāḥ from its ancient site in Mangah. It was then transplanted 400m westward at its present site in Gā Bāhāḥ. Not to be intimidated by such an act of royal aggression, the devotees at Bāhāḥ Pujā continue to offer *pujā* to Haḥ Bāhāḥ at its older site by placing fruit and other offerings on the step of the courtyard's golden door (Plate 2). It is this continued act of defiance that leads to the two processions to continue to

cross each other's path. What was truly amazing to this writer was to observe the two processions going on in this way, without the slightest interest in, or even, acknowledgement of, the other's existence.

Matayā, though not following the route of the royal centripetal *pradakshināpatha*, nevertheless is related to it in three ways: firstly, the procession is organised by a committee, on a rotational basis, from one of the ten localities (*twāh*) on that route; secondly, the Nyaku Jātrā – the procession of musicians that plays on the same day as Matayā – does circumambulate the city on the centripetal route; and thirdly, it is also a clockwise integration of city space. What then is the relationship between the two routes? It is apparent that the royal centripetal *pradakshināpatha* is an invention of the Malla kings, and that Matayā was too well established, and too closely followed to allow the kings to change it. They did, however, bring it under some sort of central control by delegating the responsibility for its organization to the ten localities along the integrative route and ordering the Nyaku Jātrā to play along that route simultaneously.

Excursive centripetal processions: Power-place worship, which involves procession to each of the Twelve True Power-places in turn, is also a kind of centripetal procession.²¹ The difference with this procession, however, is in the fact that this procession takes place, for the most part, outside the city. Each day a procession forms at the city centre, Mangah, and makes an excursion out of the city to the particular shrine of the day.

Having done the *pūjā*, the procession retraces its steps to the palace (cf. Gutschow 1982: 173, fig. 194). The integrative character of the procession is in the set as a whole. This is reemphasized on the ninth day of Mohani, (Syāko tyāko) when all twelve Power-places are visited at one go.

Sanctifying city space

The location of deities in and around the city, and the movement of deities or, alternatively, the movement of their devotees through city space all have a symbolic significance. In relation to the Navadurgā of Bhaktapur, Gutschow and Basukala (1987: 147) suggest that the gods enact an elaborate set of processions which aim, in the broadest sense, at ritual taking possession of space, of a realm sacred to and sanctified by these gods:

The appearance of the Navadurga in the streets and lanes not only serves to substantiate the actual presence of the gods in town. It is in fact much more: the gods come to each and every quarter as if to prove that they form the component parts of the whole, the town of Bhaktapur with its heterogeneous spatial and social structure. Thus the appearance of the gods confirms and reaffirms the special quality of an urban as opposed to the rural environment. The gods represent the essence of the urban environment (ibid.: 155).

Conclusion

Although the bounded nature of settlements seems to have been thoroughly established in ancient times this does not seem to be true of their centredness to any great extent. The Malla kings, as masterful politicians, however, took full advantage of the sacred texts that sanctified the city as a mandala. Although the centrality of the palace was already an accepted notion they took it to a new plane. The value of centredness became equivalent to that of kingship. All roads in ancient Europe may have led to Rome, but in medieval Lalitpur they led, ideally at least, to the palace. Ritual movement through sacred city space reinforced such conceptions.

Notes

1. Gutschow's work is in German but the maps are self-explanatory so the reader without German is not at such a disadvantage as would first appear.
2. cf. Dhanavajra Vajracarya (1964).
3. The fact that some Khadgis also lived outside the old wall indicates that perhaps the distinction between Untouchable and merely Water-unacceptable was at times hazy.
4. The data for this map is partially gleaned from Gutschow (1982: 162, Map 176) and from the map prepared by Nūtan Sharma and published in Gellner and Pradhan (1995: 275, Fig 9.2). I have interpolated the position of the wall a little differently. See also Gutschow and Kölver (1975: 49) and Gutschow's maps in Levy (1990: 164 & 179) for a similar mapping of Bhaktapur.
5. Crossroads are usually considered inauspicious in South Asia. They are the abode of evil spirits such as the reverse-footed *kicikini*.
6. This list came out of a hard won consensus after a long discussion involving Nem Krishna Tamrakar and a group of elderly Maharjan men at Haugah.
7. Gutschow (1982: 163, Map 177) shows the locations of Lalitpur's Eight Mother Goddesses.
8. I am grateful to Nūtan Sharma, Dil Mohan Tamrakar and Nem Krishna Tamrakar for helping me prepare this list.
9. Some of the names and positions of the Dashmahāvidyā in Gutschow's map are different (1982: 165, Map 183).
10. The proximity of these two deities leads to the common but mistaken belief that the Mahāvidyā is Bāl Kumāri.
11. This also fits with the existence of the Lineage Deity of the Pāhmā Sikāhmi (and Pāhmā Shrestha) at Thapāhiti just along the road east of Cāka Bahi, which must have been outside the city at the time it was established.

12. A fourth cremation ground is used exclusively by the *Dyāhlā* of Thati and is located about 400m southwest of their settlement.
13. Olfield's report that the majority of Lalitpur's cremations took place at Bāl Kumāri seems unlikely (1981:125).
14. Gutschow's map is inaccurate (ibid.: 163, Figure 177). He draws strict boundaries so that the inhabitants of Kutī Saugah, for instance, go to Bāl Kumāri. In fact, though Maharjans of that locality cremate their dead at Bāl Kumāri, the Sikahmi go to Shankhamul via (Cyāsah on a circuitous route (Map 4). Likewise, the Bārāhi of Yānamugah.
15. This devotion was clearly demonstrated after the palace massacre of 2001 when thousands of men shaved their heads as if in mourning for their father.
16. Gutschow was apparently unaware of the Vishnu Devi Jātrā. The two *jātrās* of Mahālakshmi (Gutschow's map only shows one) have, since Gutschow wrote, become defunct. Gutschow suggests that each of these *Jātrās* traces a route around the territory corresponding to that *ashtamatrikā*. An analysis of the corresponding localities in terms of the cult, however, reveals that this is, in fact, not the case. I am not aware of an analogous procession for any of the other of the Eight Mother Goddesses.
17. Gutschow's list of stopping places on the *pradakshināpatha* is not wholly accurate (ibid.: 168, fig. 188 caption).
18. For many residents this is the *pradakshināpatha*.
19. The term as it is used in Lalitpur, however, seems not to have the connotation of chronological precedence that Ishii reports for Satungal.
20. There is an exception to this in that small groups of men also use the route on Svāya Punhi which, being a modern festival in the Valley, does not follow traditional rules.
21. Sometimes Pitha Pujā may be more informal with no fixed number of Power Places visited.

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RESEARCH NOTE

WORK INDEX OF NYĀṬAPOLA TEMPLE

Sukra Sagar Shrestha

The five-storeyed temple, locally known as Nyāṭapola, is an impressive and famous temple of Nepal, standing in the northern side of Taumārhi square in Bhaktapur. This is the only temple that is named after the dimension of architecture rather than from the name of the deity residing inside. The temple was erected within a short period of less than five months by King Bhupatindra Malla in 1701/1702 A.D. In the present context of work-schedule, planning and programming, it is very difficult to believe that the temple was erected within that short period of time. But it was the fact. The incidents are recorded day by day.

If we look at the calendar of construction it gives us an interesting picture of the spirit of the people and speed of the work accomplished within such a short period of time. The speed of work done in religious faith can never be accomplished in modern-day society run by materialistic considerations.

We find all these interesting details while going into the manuscript. From the start of digging the foundation to the completion of roofing, it took merely eighty-eight days. The excavation work for foundation lasted for seven days. Then was commenced construction of six plinths. That was accomplished in thirty-one days, and immediately after that started the erection of the superstructure. That was also completed within thirty-four days, after which roofing work was started from top to the lowest roof. In sixteen days all the five roofs were completed paving them with mini-tiles (*jhiṅgati*). Then they had to wait for an auspicious day for erecting the icons in the sanctum sanctorum and fix the pinnacle on the top of the temple. For this, they did wait for 38 days. In the meantime the auspicious fire-sacrifice (*Siddhāgni Kotyāhuti Yajña*) was going on.

Presented here are six pages (three folios) of the facsimile copies of the manuscript which recorded major events from beginning to the end, as summary of records in advance, incorporated in the manuscript containing 264 folios. There are fifty major records in the summary six-page facsimile.

The manuscript is preserved in the National Archives of Nepal. It is readily available for the readers in micro-film as well, which can be read in the office or could be purchased in photocopy paying certain rupees per page.

The name of the manuscript is recorded as *Siddhāgni Kotyāhuti Devala Pratiṣṭhā*. The name itself kept the enthusiasts on the subject of ancient architecture behind the curtain from knowing it. The accession number of the manuscript is cat. I. 1115 NGMPP micro number A 249/5. The manuscript is

written in the Newar script in yellow Nepalese paper coated with *harital* (orpiment). The size is 17.2 x 46.5 cm. Each page has nine lines. The manuscript has 264 folios, and the rest are missing Dr Janak Lal Vaidya thinks. Some folios are ink-stained and some are damaged by rats. All the rest of the folios are in good condition. The calligraphy is magnificent.

Out of these six facsimile pages, Dr. Janak Lal Vaidya has published three folios (1, 2 and 4) without any transliteration and translation in *Abhilekh* No. 8 published by the National Archives of Nepal. It is, however, necessary at least to give a full picture of the detailed records in those six important pages.

There are still interesting information contained in the following folios of the manuscript which were published by Dr. Janak Lal Vaidya in his articles published in *Abhilekh*, No. 8 and No. 14 and *Kheluitā* No. 11 in English, Nepali and Newar respectively.

Translation of facsimile copy

Salute! To the god Ganeśa. This is the work index of the construction of Nyātapola Temple (Five-storeyed Temple) and the performance of *Siddhāgni Kotyāhuti* fire sacrifice (done) by Bhupatindra Malla. (The king of Bhaktapur) [Then starts the entry]

1. On Thursday, the third day of clear fortnight in the month of *kārttika* of Nepal Samvat 822, the people (the ones who fell the tree) were sent to fell the trees in the jungle.
2. (After 25 days) On Monday, the twelfth of clear fortnight in the month of *Mārga* of Nepal Samvat 822, this day the wood work (carpentry) started.
3. (After 31 days) On Thursday, the twelfth/thirteen of dark fortnight in the month of *Pauṣa* of Nepal Samvat 822, the excavation work for foundation started.
4. (After 7 days) On Thursday, the fifth of clear fortnight in the month of *Māgha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the foundation stone was laid (construction of the foundation started).
5. (After 31 days) On Sunday, the sixth of dark fortnight in the month of *Phaḡuna* of Nepal Samvat 822, this day the main entrance (to the sanctum sanctorum) was erected.
6. (After 5 days) On Friday, the eleventh of dark fortnight in the month of *Phalguṇa* of Nepal Samvat 822, this day the amoral spinal beam (*nināla*) was laid.
7. (After 11 days) On Thursday, the seventh of bright fortnight in the month of *Caitra* of Nepal Samvat 822, the windows (were) erected in lowest (first) storey.
8. (After 11 days) On Saturday, the third of dark fortnight in the month of *Caitra* of Nepal Samvat 822, the windows (were) erected in second storey.

9. (After three days) On Tuesday, the seventh of dark fortnight in the month of *Caitra* of Nepal Samvat 822, the windows were erected in the third storey.
10. (After four days) On Saturday, the eleventh of dark fortnight of *Caitra* of Nepal Samvat 822, the windows (were) erected in the fourth storey.
11. (After two days) On Monday the thirteenth of dark fortnight in the month of *Caitra* of Nepal Samvat 822, the windows (were) erected in the last (fifth) storey.
12. (After 3 days) On Thursday, the fifteenth of dark fortnight (no moon day) in the month of *Caitra* of Nepal Samvat 822, the *pīṭhapūjā* performed (to appease the *pīṭhagaṇa*) in order to erect the top of the temple.
13. (After 14 days) On Thursday, the third of clear fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the top of the temple offered (erected).
14. (After 7 days) On Thursday, the seventh of clear fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the topmost roof was covered with minitiles.
15. (After 2 days) On Saturday, the ninth of clear fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the roofing is completed on the fourth storey.
16. (After 2 days) On Monday, the eleventh of clear fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the roofing is completed on the third (middle) roof.
17. (After 4 days) On Friday, the first of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the roofing is constructed on the second roof.
18. (Next day) On Saturday, the second of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the ceremony of offering of areca nuts is performed.
19. (Next day) On Sunday, the third of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the *pūjā* (worship) was sent to *Pīṭhas*, *Jawodaka*, *Shivasakti* and *Kalaśa*.
20. (Next day) On Monday, the fourth of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the worship and propitious ritual is performed in *Pīṭhas* (Pithārchana).
21. (Next day) On Tuesday, the fifth of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the act of *purāścaraṇa* is performed.
22. (After 2 days) On Thursday, the seventh of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the arrangement for *maṇḍapa* is done.

23. (Next day) On Friday, the eighth of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the roofing is done on the fifth (top most) roof. Or the roofing work is completed in the temple.
24. (Next day) On Saturday, the ninth of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the excavation work is done for making fire altar (*kuṇḍa*).
25. (After 2 days) On Monday, the eleventh of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the foundation stone is laid to erect the fire altar.
26. (After 2 days) On Wednesday, the thirteenth of dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the tympanum is offered (fixed) at the main entrance.
27. (After 3 days) On Saturday, the first of clear fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, *Ankurārcanā* ceremony is performed.
28. (After 5 days) On Thursday, the sixth of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, different (many-fold) rituals-consecration, propitious, worships, offerings, are performed like Punyahawāchala, Rritwijāvarṇa, Mandapa pūjā, sun-worship, door worship, Guru-worship, and offering of roof hanging (paṭa) and so on.
29. (Next day) On Friday, the seventh of clear fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, different acts are done like Rājapūjā, Thandīla Uddhāra, Kālikāropana and Jalajaga.
30. (Next day) On Saturday, the eighth of clear fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, Javodaka (barley seeds) are offered to alter. Pādaprakshyālana, sheep-sacrifice, Vighnaharana, Panchagavya-sādhana, Tripūjā, Sodhanyāsa, Jnākhadgaśadhana, arghapātrasādhana, shivahastapūjā, shivashaktibhramana, kalaśarchanā, thandilamarcanā and chetri avahana.
31. (Next day) On Sunday, the ninth of clear fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the fire in was lit alter for fire-sacrifice, Thāpūjā is performed along with jāgarāṇa (night spent without sleep) or observed sleepless night (next day)
32. (After 4 days) On Thursday, the thirteenth of clear fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, Thāpūjā and jāgarāṇa (sleepless night) were also performed.
33. (After 7 days) On Thursday, the sixth of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, again Thāpūjā and jāgarāṇa were performed.
34. (After 4 days) On Monday, the tenth of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, this day bathing the icon is done with (again) thāpūjā and jāgarāṇa.
35. (Next day) On Thursday, the tenth/eleventh of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, ten sacraments (dasa karma) of the icons are preformed.
36. (Next day) On Wednesday, the eleventh of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the god is given a bath and purified.
37. (Next day) On Thursday the twelfth of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the sacraments to infuse life to the icon are performed. Thāpūjā and jāgarāṇa are also observed.
38. (Next day) On Friday, the thirteenth of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the purification of sanctum sanctorum and pedestal (as well) are performed.
39. (Next day) On Saturday, the fourteenth of dark fortnight in the month of *Jyestha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the god (icon) is taken to the temple and the ritual flag is consecrated and fluttered.
40. (After 2 days) On Monday, the first of clear fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the icon (in the sanctum sanctorum) and pinnacle (on top of the temple) are installed. The three mini-temples and *koṭilinga* are (also) adorned with pinnacles. *Digpūjā*, *Thāpūjā* and *jāgarāṇa* are performed and observed.
41. (After 3 days) On Thursday, the fourth of clear fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the pinnacle was offered and *pūjā* performed in the fourth mini - temple and worshipped (the god inside).
42. (After 7 days) On Thursday, the twelfth of clear fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, *Thāpūjā* is performed and *jāgarāṇa* observed.
43. (After 6 days) On Wednesday, the third of dark fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, a partridge is sacrificed.
44. (Next day) On Thursday, the fourth of dark fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the bell was offered and *jāgarāṇa* observed (eighth time).
45. (After 6 days) On Wednesday, the tenth of dark fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal era 822, the *Kotipolduyā* (कोटिपोल दुया), *Caurāsi Paicālduyā* (चौरासी पैचालदुया) *Thāpūjā* and *jāgarāṇa* are performed (ninth time).
46. (Next day) On Thursday, the eleventh of dark fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Saṃvat 822, the repentance sacrifice was performed

(repentance because of innumerable lives of unseen and seen animals that might have been killed knowingly or unknowingly during the construction period).

47. On Friday, the twelfth of dark fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the bathing is done. (पूर्णअभृतस्नान).
48. (After 3 days) On Monday, the no moon day of dark fortnight in the month of *Aṣadha* of Nepal Samvat 822, the *Caturthi* (No activities are mentioned afterwards).
49. (After 2 days) On Wednesday, the second day of clear fortnight in the month of *Srāvaṇa* of Nepal Samvat 822, offerings to Inayadon (*Sūryavināyaka*) were sent. The king seemed to have gone to *Sūryavināyaka* for final thanks-giving *pūjā*.
50. (after 142 days) On Sunday, the twelfth of dark fortnight in the month of *Paṇṇa* of Nepal Samvat 823, the ashes (collected from the sacrifice altar) were floated away (in the river Hanumante on the south of the city) (after exactly one lunar year from the day of digging for the foundation of the temple) on the first clear fortnight in the month of *Āṣadha* of Nepal Samvat 823.

From the start of the sixth page onwards, the scribe records the new subject and gives the details of the number of firewood oblations made by, first the king, then by others to the fire sacrifice. The king offered seventeen bundle of firewood and others, different number of bundles, some did less than the king and some more than him.

The total number of the firewood bundles offered to the sacrifice is 1102 and an equal number of bundles made of bamboo (*pā*) reed (*tī*) and (*I*) were also offered.

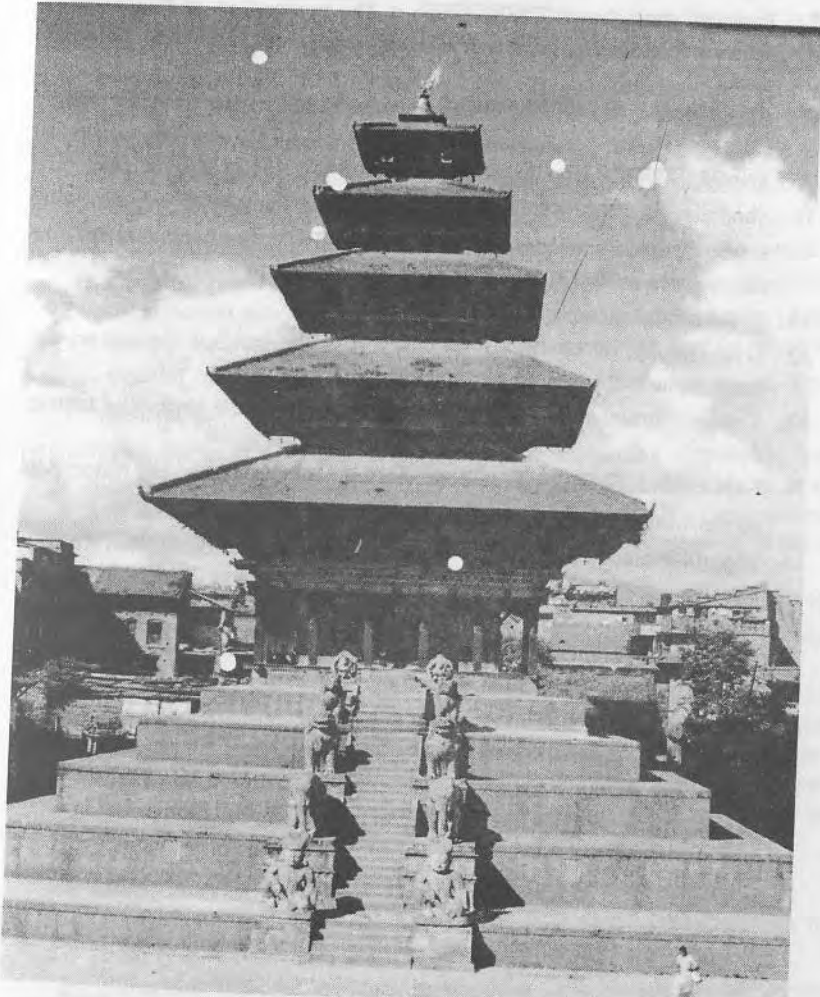
Some words in Newar and Sanskrit which are used in this article have not been found in English. Therefore they can not be translated into English. Their exact meaning is not possible to find them in the English dictionary. It has been tried to translate nearer to its meaning. The words as they were used are reproduced here in Devanagari. Therefore, the author invites the comment on the exact translation of these words.

Glossary

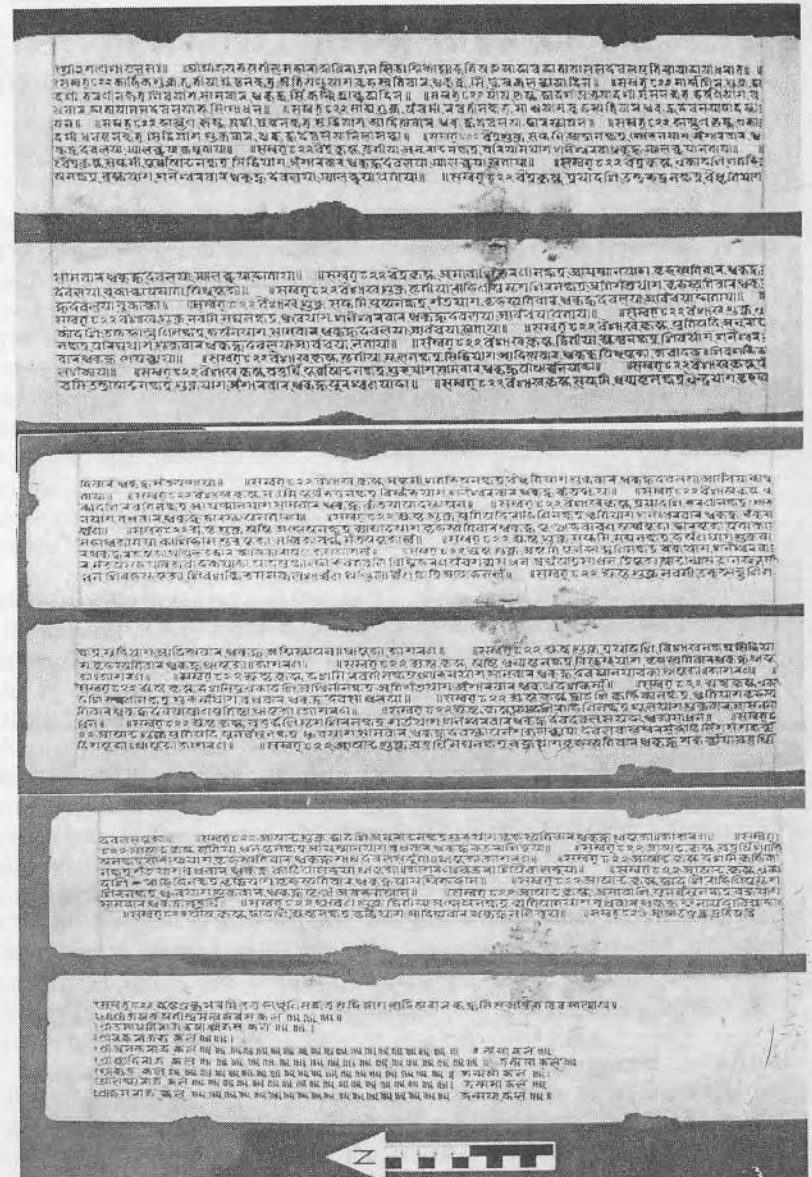
1. *Pūṇavabhṛtasnān* (पूर्णअभृतस्नान) = A ritual bath with clothes on the body after all ceremony performed
2. *Pīṭhapūjā* (पीठपूजा) = Worship done in different shrines of mother goddesses known as *Pīṭha* (a sacred Tantric shrine dedicated to the Mother Goddesses)

3. *Javodaka* (जवोदक) = worship by oat-grains instead of rice-grains (or sprinkling of oat-grains before five sacrifices start on the ground).
4. *Kalikāropana* (कालीकारोपण) = The plantation of the black seeds.
5. *Bhetavali* (भेतवली) = offering to the Goblins (?)
6. *Bighniharāṇa* (विघ्नहरण) = Eradication of suspected problems.
7. *Pancagavyasāṅghana* (पंचगव्यसंघन) = The preparation of *Pañchagavya* (mixing five objects composed of milk, ghee, curds, urine and dung of a cow.)
8. *Arghpātrasādhana* (अर्घपात्रसाधन) = consecration of sacred water vessel (?)
9. *Tripūjā* (त्रिपूजा) = worship of three lamp (*dipa*), *Kalaśa* and *Gaṇeśa*.
10. *Shodhānyāsa* (षोढान्यास) = worship of sixteen Sanyasis (worship with sixteen articles; sixteen worships) ? (षोढसन्यास) ? But in manuscript it is only written as *षोढान्यास*
11. *Gyāṅkhaḍgasāghana* (ज्ञानखड्गसंघन) = ?
12. *Śivahaṣṭapūjā* (शिवहस्तपूजा) = Worship of the hand of the carvers on metal stone and wood
13. *Śivaśaktibhramna* (शिवशक्तिभ्रमन) = pilgrimage to the shrines of tantric deities
14. *Kalaśārcana* (कलशार्चन) = consecration of *Kalaśa* = or water pot representing *Varuṇa*, the Vedic god
15. *Thandīlārcana* (थण्डीलार्चन) = oblation at the ground designated for fire sacrifice
16. *Kṣatrī āvāhana* (क्षत्री आवाहन) = invitation to *Chetrapālas* = the guardian deities of sin/eight directives
17. *Pādaprakṣāṇa* (पादप्रक्षालन) = washing the feet of Brats.
18. *Kalesankāyā* (कलेशंकाया) = worship to minimize the suspected obstacles
19. *Purascaraṇa yāṇā* (पुरश्चरण याडा) = The act of ritual tantric consecration (repeating certain mantras)
20. *Ankurārcana* (अंकुरार्चन) = Worship of sprouting plant from oats to purify the sacrificial ground.
21. *Punyāhavācala* (पूण्याहवाचल) = Sprinkling of sacred water after homa (sacrifice)
22. *Ritvijāvama* (ऋत्विजावर्ण) = Appointment of the Brahmin who recites the Mantras
23. *Rajapūjā* (रजपूजा) = Commencement of worship – (start of worship)
24. *Deva Sodhalapā* (देव सोधलपा) = (purification of the icon)
25. *Caurāsi duyā* (चउरासी दुया) = sacrifice of a partridge.

26. Kotipola duyā (कोतिपोल दुया) = Ten million bundles (of fire wood) offered.
27. Caurāsi Pecāla duyā (चउरासी पेचाल दुया) = reed vessels full of cereal grains put in the fire sacrifice.
28. Thāpūjā (थापुजा) = A kind of tantric worship.



Nyāṭapola, Bhaktapur



Three front folios of the manuscript describing the daily records of the construction of Nyāṭapola

RESEARCH NOTE

REVITALIZATION OF THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDA IN NEPAL: LESSONS FROM BRITISH MODEL

Kedar Dahal

Introduction

The main objective of this paper is to draw attention of the academicians and professionals regarding the new regional development framework and its mechanism in Nepal. This paper is conceptually divided into three sections. The first section, given an introduction to the policies and programmes of regional development in Nepal. In addition, emergences of regional development concepts in Nepal, their purposes, objectives and strategies have also been discussed. The model of regional development in United Kingdom after 1990 and their mechanism and structures have been discussed in the second section for the comparison. At the end, discussion has been done on the possible regional development agenda [model] for Nepal based on the British approach, their wicked issues and strengths.

Development Scenario and Regional Issue in Nepal

The concept of regional development and planning came in 1960s. Several attempts were made to reduce the regional variations of poverty in Nepal during various planning periods. For this purpose, the nation has been divided initially into four Development Regions e.g. Eastern Development Region (EDR), Centre Development Region (CDR), Western Development Region (WDR) and Mid-Western Development Region (MWDR) in 1972 and five development regions in 1981 in view of balanced and integrated development. There are 5 Development Regions (DR) and 3 Ecological Regions (Mountain, Hills and Terai), 75 districts, one Metropolitan City, four sub-metropolitan cities, 52 municipalities and 3,474 Village Development Committees (VDCs) in Nepal and emerging a rural-urban dichotomy in the development context. Although, the development was guided by some centrifugal forces and confined in certain typical locations. Kathmandu Valley is developing as a 'development island' and remaining parts of the whole nation are still backward.

Regional variation of poverty among the different regional units have highly been perceived in the recent years. It seems to be an effective tool for the poverty alleviation in Nepal for two reasons. First, it is important for identifying poverty pockets in the country. Second, it is necessary to formulate location specific development programmes for poverty alleviation

(Shrestha 1998). The spatial pattern of poverty shows that the Mountain, MWDR and FWDR have concentrated high mass of poverty. CDR, EDR and WDR have comparatively better position than the remaining two development regions. Similarly, Terai (Plain) and Kathmandu Valley are more developed as compared to the other regions. The political instability, poor accessibility, poor economic integration, rigid and steep topography, high rate of inter and intra-regional migration, environmental and natural calamities are core causes of the regional inequalities of Nepal.

Regional Variation of Poverty

Most of the mountain and hill districts of Nepal are contained worst in terms of the poverty and deprivation. More poverty is concentrated in those areas, which are characterized by poor resources, remoteness and rugged topography. Out of the total, MWDR has a large number of people belongs to the poverty (i.e. 56.4 %), it follows FWDR (45.8 %), CDR (39.7 %), WDR (38.2 %) and EDR (34.2 %) (Table 1). EDR has lowest concentration of poverty whilst MWDR is the worst, having more than 56% population under the poverty line dominated by the large percentage of rural poverty (about 59.2 percent).

According to Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS) 1996, average household income at the national level was estimated Rs. 43,732 and per capita income Rs. 7,690. The highest household income was estimated in CDR (Rs. 52,408), while, the lowest in MWDR (Rs. 36,435). Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, in CDR, has higher level of household income as compared to other regions. Similarly, per capita income was estimated to be highest in the CDR (Rs. 9,366) as compared to the lowest in FWDR (Rs. 5,928). As estimated by the ecological regions, it clearly seems that, hill people have highest per capita income (e.g. about Rs. 8,433) as against the lowest in mountain people (e.g. about Rs. 5,938). Average household income in the hill was estimated as average Rs. 45,000, which by Terai (Rs. 44,500) and Mountain (Rs. 32,300). Urban-rural differentiation of poverty in Nepal is also a major issue. The per capita income of urban was estimated as Rs. 16,118 in stead of Rs. 7,075 in rural areas, while, the average household income in urban areas estimated as Rs. 86,797 as against Rs. 40,400 in rural areas (NLSS, 1996).

ICMOD (1997) had conducted a study on poverty based district ranking, for example better rank districts, intermediate rank districts and worse rank districts, shows that the poverty and deprivation in Nepal are under two distinct clusters, one lies in the hill and mountain regions of FWDR and MWDR, and another lies in the Central hill and mountain regions. But Kanchanpur of FWDR categorized into best district and Darchula and western terai districts have been categorized into intermediate districts. In CDR, except Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur, 7 districts like Rasuwa,

Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Rautahat and Mahottari have categorized in worse districts. The study shows that the EDR, WDR and Kathmandu valley have been categorized into best in terms of overall composite index of development. One study conducted in Sankhuwasabha and Bhojpur district shows that the level of poverty and deprivation in Nepal mostly conforms to the resource endowment, accessibility, markets and topography (DEVA, 1997). In this context, the regional development approach might be more relevant to address the poverty issues in Nepal. The identification of the poverty pockets would be more meaningful to formulate, and implement of the development plans and policies in the Kingdom.

Table 1: Regional Variation of Poverty

Regions	Poverty %		Per capita Income (Rs)	
	1989	2000	1996	1999
Development Regions				
EDR	34.2	42	7,434	1073
CDR	39.2	40.7	9,366	1713
WDR	38.2	39.9	7,011	1022
MWDR	56.2	43.4	6,038	861
FWDR	45.8	54.3	5,928	899
Ecological Regions				
High Mountain	NA	46	5,938	898
Hill	NA	37.2	8,433	1262
Terai	NA	40.2	7,322	1267
Residential Areas				
Rural	43.1	41.4	7,075	1,094
Urban	19.2	23.9	16,118	2,133
NEPAL	42.5	39.2	27690	1237

Sources: *Himalayan Studies Centres (HSC) 1989*
Nepal Living Standards Survey Report, CBS1996
Human Development Report, National Planning Commission (NPC) 2000

Regional Development Planning in Nepal

Regional development planning in Nepal can be divided into three phases

- Regional development before 1970s
- Regional development in 1970s-1990s, and
- Regional development after 1990s

Regional Development Before 1970s

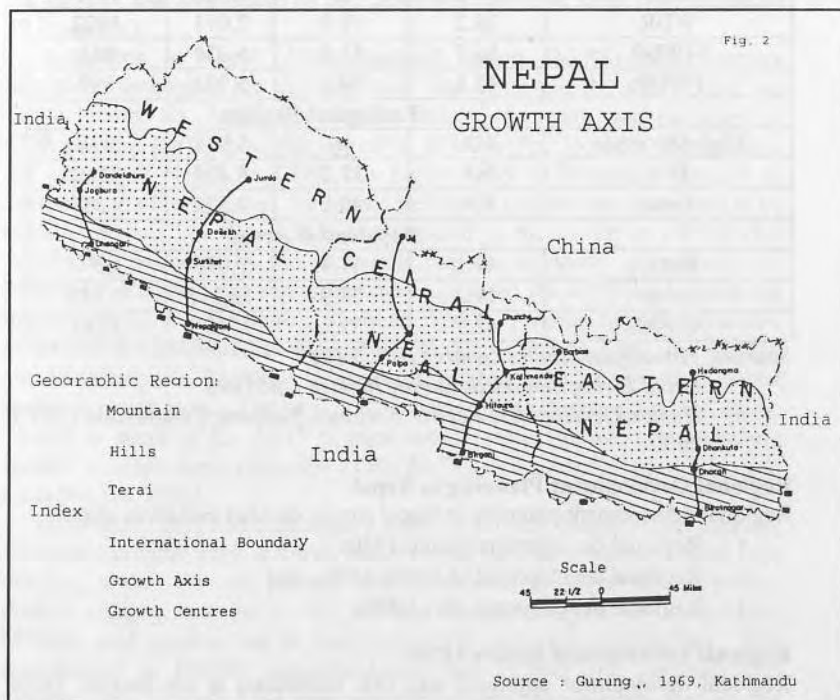
Regional development approach was first introduced in the Second Three Year Plan (1962-1965) in Nepal. As a result, the country was divided into several development and administration regions. Third Five Year Plan (1965-

1970) was focused on the road and transportation development to link mountain, hills and terai region in the national development process. Third plan gave prominence to regional aspects in the national development plan by dividing the country into three watershed regions like Koshi, Gandaki and Karnali with the aim of the balance regional development. Till 1970, regional development was in the initial stage. There were no additional development policies and plans prepared in the field of regional development in Nepal.

Regional Development in 1970s-1990s

Fourth Five-Year Plan (1970-1975) was a milestone in the regional planning and development in Nepal. Growth pole hypothesis was introduced in the country. Four growth poles and several other growth centres were identified in order to reduce the regional disparity of Nepal. The main growth pole hypothesis was to establish the north-south linkages in the movement of goods and services, trade and people with the view to coordination and integrated development activities within the country (Table 3 & Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Growth Axis, Nepal



In 1992, four-development regions have been defined e.g. EDR, CDR, WDR and MWDR. Growth centres and their possible hinterland areas have also been defined (Table 4). The main objective of the regional planning during the 1970s was to provide a comprehensive spatial framework to the national development.

These roads were proposed to link series of growth centres where development efforts will be concentrated in order to achieve full economies of scale and encourage agglomeration economies (Gurung 1969). The important aspect of the growth centres approach is the positive nature of polarized development as it takes place and the mechanisms whereby the growth centres spread to the surrounding areas.

This strategy of regional planning has been closely linked to the road construction linking terai, hill and mountain, and generating greater inter-regional circulation of goods, service and people. This approach of regional development has focussed on the circulation of goods, people and services among the mountain, hill and terai and ultimately of India, but did not give more attention about the flow of goods and services among the regions like hill to hill, mountain to mountain and terai to terai. In effect, Nepal is made up of several separated regional economies, each one dependent upon its railhead connection with India (Blaikie 1981). As a consequence, hills have become grain deficit and are obliged to export labour to Terai and India.

Table 3: Growth poles and Development Centres

Growth Poles	Regions	Development Centres
Biratnagar-Dhankuta	Koshi (Eastern)	Biratnagar, Dharan, Dhankuta, Hedanga
Hetaunda-Kathmandu	Kathmandu (Central)	Birgunj, Kathmandu Valley, Hetaunda, Barabish, Dhunche
Bhairahawa-Jomsom	Gandaki (Western)	Bhairawa, Butwal, Tansen, Shangja, Pokhara, Jomsom
Nepalgunj-Jumla	Karnali (Far Western)	Nepalgunj, Surkhet, Dailekh, Jumla

Source: The Fourth Plan (1970-1975) HMG/NPC, Nepal.

Table 4: Development Region, Growth Centres and Hinterland Districts

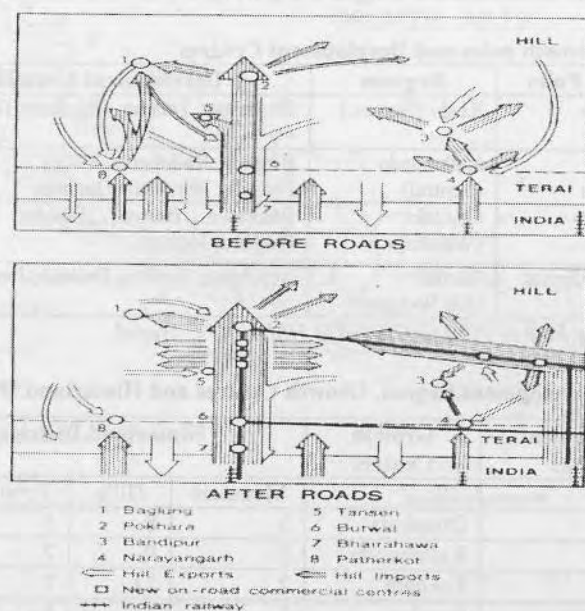
Development regions	Growth Centres	Hinterland Districts			
		Mountain	Hills	Terai	Total
Eastern	Dhankuta	3	8	5	16
Central	Kathmandu	3	9	7	19
Western	Pokhara	2	11	7	18
Far Western	Surkhet	8	11	5	24

Source: Shrestha and Jain 1978

Harka Gurung's development approach has brought many significant changes in the location of flows and break-of-bulk points (fig2). Road provision in west-central Nepal has accelerated in some instances the long-established decline of the hill economy, particularly in the case of artisans, craftsmen and occupational castes (Blaikie, 1881). This is true that Harka Gurung's approach of regional development has a number of limitations and does not offer a suitable regional development framework. Many rural areas of Nepal have self-sufficient economy. Road and communication, infrastructure and service facilities are developing fast in recent years. In this context, this approach of regional development would not be an appropriate strategy for national development.

Fifth Five Year Plan (1975-1980) was designed to increase national revenue by widening the foundation and boundary of development, by utilizing the resources in particular region and community through appropriate methodology (NPC, 1995). The objective of regional development was to bring uniformity in the income by increasing the income of the majority of the population based on social justice in maintaining economic and social unification and by mobilizing local resources.

Fig. 2: Impact of Growth Axes (An Example of Bhairahawa-PokharaJomsom Growth Axis)



Source: Bentley and Gibney, 2000

In the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-1985), regional development planning emphasized not only the integration between north and south but focused on the east and west integration through the development of roads and other infrastructure development, and priority was given to increase economic integration among the different regions through the huge economic investment, especially to the food production in the backward and poor areas. Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) were given more emphasis on the Sixth Five Year Plan although the concept of IRDP was introduced during the Fifth Plan in order to improve the quality of socio-economic standard of people. The main objectives of the IRDP were to (1) improve the socio-economic condition of rural communities (2) provides social services, (3) mobilize local resources through people participation, (4) involve local people in the decision making of local development programmes and (5) develop different components in an integrated way (Shrestha 1986).

The Sixth Plan was focused on the regional development through integration of rural infrastructure development, i.e. agriculture, small-scale industries, horticulture, livestock, and conservation of the natural resources. This was the second main step in the field of the balanced regional development in Nepal.

But location of such schemes has mutually contradictory aims. The problems of poverty, deprivation, ecological decline, lack of physical infrastructure and personnel within a political economy tend not to be conducive to a purposeful solution, and these problems are all so pervasive (Blaikie, 1981). Lack of transparency and political intervention were another causes of the failure of the IRDP in the past. In the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990), the national goals and objectives were to reduce the regional imbalances in Nepal through the high utilization of local resources. The Seventh Plan proposed a regional structure of regional development plan under three dimensions:

1. To develop development centres and service centres established in the sub-regions in each development region e.g. towns and market centres.
2. To make the regional level plans practical and effective, regional development projects should be carried out at different levels/tiers i.e. DR, Sub-region and District, and
3. District Development Plans formulated under the decentralization policy will conform to regional development plan. Sub-regional will be identified recognizing the existing zones as they are. The district will be the third tier of development region (NPC, 1990)

Therefore, the decentralization and regional development policy were integrated during the Seventh Plan periods and the regional development

through an empowerment of the local government was considered as an important approach of development.

But without a statutory regional and sub-regional institution and powerless districts, the proposed regional development policies were not properly implemented. National Planning Commission (NPC) is a national level statutory institution and the planning from above did not give proper attention in the regional development. Seventh Plan did not mention the programme coordination among the different tier of regional units. District development plans were prepared without detailed study of the local resources and their relations among the different districts and regions. The main problem of this plan was the improper implementation of the targeted policies.

Regional Development After 1990

People's democratic movement in 1990 established a parliamentary democratic system in Nepal, and gave more priorities to the rural and regional development through more decentralization and empowerment of local bodies. Policies, which aim to the empowerment of the local people and local government in the development process, were formulated in order to balance the regional development.

Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-1997) was designed with emphasis on three-core objectives: (a) sustainable economic growth, (b) poverty alleviation, and (c) reduction of regional imbalances (NPC, 1992). The main objectives of the regional development in the eighth plan were (i) to increase regional and national production and reduce regional imbalance by mobilizing resources and assets scattered in different parts of the country, and (ii) to integrate rural development processes into the national mainstream by involving the prevailing economic condition of the less developed rural and backward areas (NPC, 1992).

Reduction of the regional imbalances through creating the physical infrastructures in the rural and backward regions had been emphasized in the plan. It had given more priorities on the extension of rural roads, health facilities and education. Fifteen different policies were put forward in regard to the regional development in the plan. These policies were enacted through different regional, sub-regional and district level programmes. Expansion of the road networks, rural electrification, establishment of the health post and schools in rural village, extension of infrastructure and service facilities in the rural areas, establishment of rural development banks, natural resources conservation through the extensive community forestry were some important achievements during this period. But without appropriate mechanism and programmes to co-ordination

among different regional units (intra and interregional interaction), the regional development policies became ineffective. There were lacking an effective programmers in the context of regional development, except rural infrastructure development.

The Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) was designed with the aim to reduce the level of poverty in the country. Balanced regional development was seen as an important aspect of poverty alleviation in the country. This plan highlighted four core objectives for regional development. Ninth Plan also focussed on regional development through the three tiered hierarchy of areas for development i.e. Development Region, Sub-region and Districts and formulated 13 different policies to fulfill these objectives. One of the important aspects of this plan was to define and formulate different programmes. Many programmes were proposed in order to reduce the regional imbalance in the country. Optimum mobilization of the regional resources, identification of the potentiality and capacity of the resources at regional level, area specific programme, NGOs mobilization, peoples' participation in the development process, development of infrastructure and service facilities, co-ordination and integration mechanism for the regional development and proposed regional offices for the formulation, mobilization, monitoring and evaluation of district level programmes were very important aspects in the context of regional development. This plan for the first time felt the necessity of regional offices, peoples' participation, area-specific programmes and analysis resource potentiality for the regional development, which were not mentioned in the previous plans.

Policies and programmes prepared in the ninth Five Year Plan seem to be more ambitious. It is very difficult to implement these policies and programmes in a short period. After 1990, the country has been facing serious political instability (See annex 1 for further detail). Moreover, after 1996 the targeted policies and plans in the regional level have failed and less implemented due to extreme political instability. MWDR, FWDR and some high mountain districts are still backward due to the high political uncertainty, poor human and natural resources and deficit budget as well.

The tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) is focused on the balanced regional development through the utilization of potential resources in different regions. Three core regional strategies have been prepared in order to reduce regional imbalances. The core strategies are concerned with :

- People's participation in the social and political decision making processes.

- The interregional economic relations among the rural, urban and backward regions through the infrastructure development particularly transport and communication.
- Resource allocation in view of reducing regional imbalance.

The concept of economic region, nodal market centre and road and infrastructure development through the use of local skills and resources are major policies highlighted in this plan. But the detailed explanation and its scopes of the economic region have not been defined well. The current political insurgency and weak security in the kingdom has been disturbing for further implementation of the policies.

The Nepal Gazette 2058 (2002) has emphasized the position of Regional Administrator in the view of the regional security. But the Gazette did not give attention in this matter and focused only in the regional security.

In Britain, regional development agenda has been put forward through an institution naming *New Regional Development Agencies (RDAs)*. Let us look at the salient features of British Model of regional development first. After 1994, Britain's Conservative Government recognized the need of regional coordinator. In this regard, the conservative government launched its network of 10 Government Offices for the Regions (GORs). Labour Party's consultation Document, *A Choice for England* (1995), Confederation of British Industry (CBI) published a report, *Regions for Business* (1997) and Department of Environment, Transport and Regions (DETR) White Bill *Building Partnerships for Prosperity: Sustainability, Growth, Competitiveness and Employment in the English Regions* (1997) emphasized on the regional level government. In 1997, DETR was established and a new bill of RDAs was announced.

In 1998, RDAs Act was set out. Both DETR White Paper (1997a) and RDAs Act 1998 defined the core functions of the RDAs. The Eight RDAs (Nine RDAs, if London included) were established under the Act and began operation in April 1999 (Fig 3). Each RDAs have five statutory purposes –

- To further the economic development of its areas;
- To promote business efficiency, investment and competitiveness in its area;
- To promote employment in its area;
- To contribute to the achievement of sustainable development in the UK where it is relevant to its area to do so; and
- To enhance the development and application of skills relevant to employment in its areas. (Source: Section 7(1) RDAs Act 1998)

Fig. 3: Regions and the logos of the English RDAs Since 1999



Source: Bentley and Gibney, 2000.

The roles of RDAs include the preparation of Regional Economic Strategy (RES) and advising and commenting upon other areas of government policy and expenditure where relevant. In relation to the task of implementation, RDAs have taken over the powers of English Partnerships and the Rural Development Commission (RDC) largely in respect of land and property development, as well as responsibility for inward investment and promotion policies of the English Regional Development Organizations (Mawson, 2000). The new RDAs have taken responsibility for programmes such as the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and have resource of up to £200m per annum depending on the size of the region.

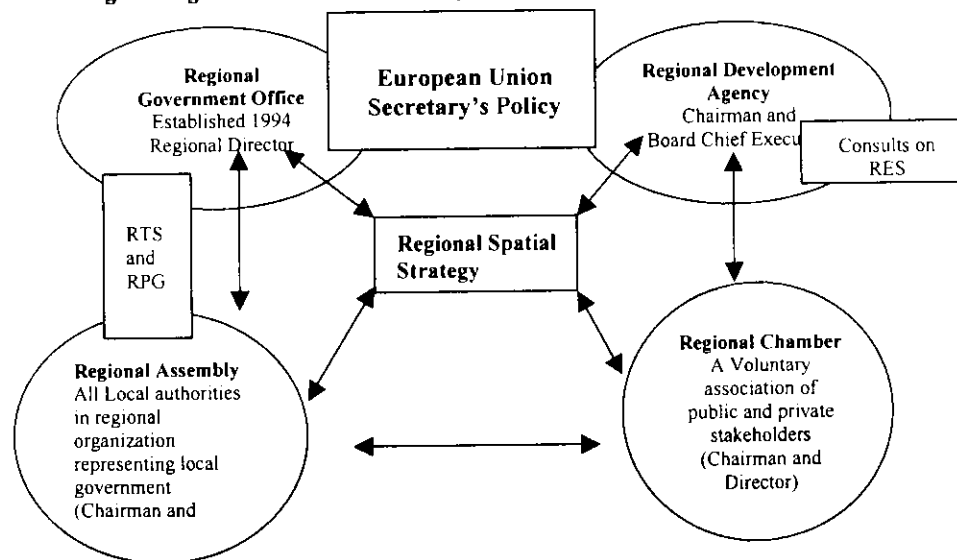
The Regional Agenda in Britain: A New Framework for the Regions

The Act 1998 provides RDAs as a government sponsored bodies, with board that are business led and reflecting a range of diverse interests in the region. In Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and London, the RDAs will be

responsible to directly elected regional authorities and regional governments, while in England, they are new quangos responsible to the Secretary of State for the Environment and to a certain extent, to new voluntary regional chambers, whose membership consists of a regional public-private partnerships (Shutt, 2000).

One of the principles of the RDAs is to establish regional partnerships. Each RDAs would have well skilled and experienced board members. Each regions have a regional assembly, established all party support, bring together all the local authorities in each regions and building a new regional level local government. These regional assemblies linked number of voluntary regional chambers, these are public private partnerships, which have to be consulted by the new RDAs as a part of their statutory obligations. All regional organizations are linked with each other and important bodies of the RGOs. In the North West Region, for example, the assembly and chamber have been combined. Both are focused on the RDA formation and partnership process. It is the regional chamber that have the potential to bring together the rang of key regional partners and stakeholders, not only from the public and private sectors, but also from further higher education (Shutt, 2000).

Fig. 4: Regional Governance in England from 1st April 1999



Four key aspects of the regional development in England have been established for example Regional Governance, Regional Development Agency, Regional Assembly and Regional Chamber. Figure 4 shows the role of these institutions and their relationships in the broad regional development context in Britain.

Lessons from British Model

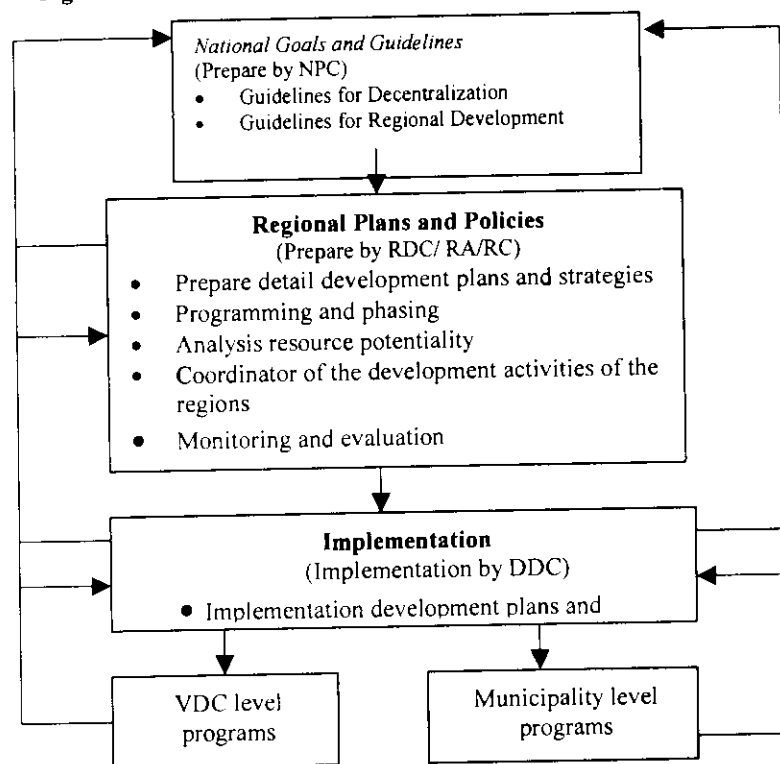
British approach of regional development could be feasible for the balanced and integrated development through making independent regional administrative structures. Let us discuss the possible framework of the regional development in Nepal based on the British model. Two institutional mechanisms found essential for the effective regional development in Nepal for example, Regional Development Council (RDC) and Regional Assembly (RA). Because of the environmental diversification, locational specificities, socio-cultural diversity, political pressures, resource allocation and availability, such institutions might be an appropriate for the planning and development of the region through a suitable coordination and linkages among the various local-regional-central level public and private organizations. Public and private nexus seems to be an essential in the development. RDC and RA therefore are proposing in this study, which will play key roles in the regional development.

[Proposed] Regional Institutions and their Relationships

Due to the lack of an appropriate regional institutional mechanism, the regional development plans and policies are directly guided by the National Planning Commission (NPC) and their frameworks. There is no effective regional institutional mechanism throughout the history of development of Nepal. Regional plans and policies are formulated and guided directly through the NPC in their own mechanism. Like in Britain, four regional institutions could be proposed in Nepal, for example, Regional Development Council (RDC), Regional Assembly (RA), Regional Administration (RAD) and Regional Chamber (RC). RDC is supposed to be an appropriate institutional mechanism for the regional development of Nepal. RDC would have stakeholders from private, public and other voluntary groups. All District Development Committee's chairman will automatically be a member of the RDC. Moreover, experts from the different interests would have also been members of the council appointed by NPC and RA. RA, in the present situation, could be a Federation of District Development Committee (FDDC). All DDC members would be automatically a member of the assembly. RDC can give their power of implementation to the District Development Committee (DDC). Each DDC would have responsibility of the implementation of the development plans and policies designed by the RDC. Even, Local Self-help Governance Act 1998 has been given more power to

make and implement local development plans and programmes in the district, municipal and VDC levels. The main role of the RDC will make plans and policies suitable to the region. DDC, Central Government and donors will be appropriate financial supporters for the implementation programmes.

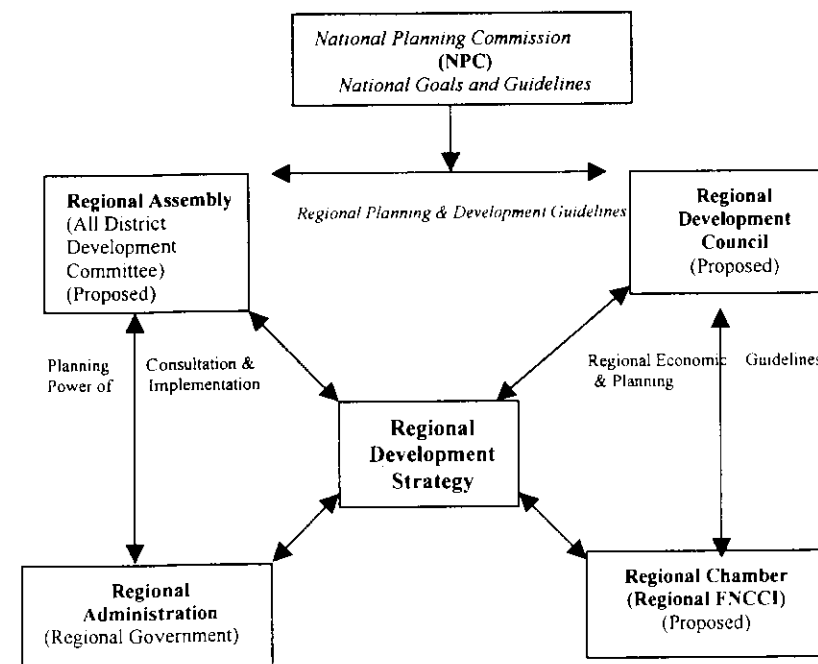
Fig. 5: Possible Coordination among the Different Regional Units



The concept of RAD has been already evolved in Nepal since 1960s, but the provision of the RAD has been created since 2001. Regional Administrators could play a role in the regional development. Such institution would have responsible for both development as well as regional security. But the Regional Administrator according to the Gazette 2058 (2001) is responsible primarily for the security. Each five-development region should have Regional Chamber (RC) Federation of Nepal Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FNCCI) can play a role of RC. FNCCI is a business organization could focus for the promotion of regional business activities and economic

development in the regions. All the regional development planning and programmes will prepare and decide through RDC and RA with close contact with the RAD and RC. The possible coordination and the concept of regional governance are shown in Fig.5 and 6.

Fig. 6: Proposed Regional Development Mechanism in Nepal



But the establishment of the RDC is not easy. There will be varying assessments and opinions regarding the implication and consequences for RDC. The most important argument might be eroding power of the local government, i.e. district government. Other argument may be the power devolution from the centre government will strengthen regional and local government.

Weak Issues

Even in England, RDA faces a range of issues and difficulties to address regional agenda. DETR 2000 has also been considered these issues. All weak issues are rising in the implementation stages. However, RDA in England is

in the honeymoon stage. There are many areas that RDAs may fail to address the regional issues in England, for example:

- Develop consultation with partners in a meaningful way;
- Consult adequately action plans;
- Privilege urban areas above rural areas;
- Resource properly the strategic regional priorities and actions; and
- Get to grips with the regional institutional architecture. (Shutt, 2000)

The revitalization of regional agenda in Nepal is not easy even difficult to adopt British Model. Several wicked problems will arise while discussing the new model of regional agenda. Some of the core issues will arise after the adaptation of the British Model in Nepal are summarized below.

Integration of number of agencies

The integration and coordination of many regional level offices [units] within their own vision, target, philosophy, or policies and set up their own organizational structure probably becomes a barrier in the regional development in Nepal. Regional strategies, organizations and partnerships need to be developed for the economic development of the regions. But it is not easy task to develop such integration within their own individual policies and ways of activities.

Partnership for economic development

Each Region must prepare their own economic plans together with map-out and create strong linkage with economic development partnerships. Each region needs to understand the local economic development partners and their plans and policies and also need to regular dialogue with local partnership agencies. Regional chamber, business organizations, non-government organizations, community based organizations and local service providers should have a strong coordination and have partnerships for the development. But partnership is not an easy task. Partnership must be identified in terms of their financial adequacy, human resources, willingness to integration and the development.

Resource attraction

Each Region needs to attract new fund for the investment. But it is a challenge to attract huge investment through attracting public/ private investors. On the other hand, human resource development, for example, dexterous administrators, advisors and motivators with highly developed diplomatic networking and political skills, is essential for the effectiveness of the regional development.

Integration and relationships

The most important issue will arise the relationships among the RDC, RA, RC and RAd. It will also be difficult to define their scope and limitations in the development. Furthermore, the preparation and integration of economic development plan, transport and environmental plans in the broad regional development context would have been challenged. Therefore, each institution should have holistic vision and have integrated approach for the overall development of the regions. One of the core objectives of the development is to promote the sustainable development. Sustainable Development means the balanced and integrated socio-economic and environmental development within the framework of the need of the present and future generation. Without integration, the goal of sustainable regional development would not have been meet.

Conclusion

The new approach to regional development is essential due to the different features and multi-cultural specificities of Nepal. The concepts of regional development need to develop beyond the traditional approaches and models. Traditional approaches did not give a clear-cut picture of balanced and integrated regional development and regional competitiveness. Regional problems and issues can be identified and solved through suitable regional governance. The concept of regional governance is also a process of development of decentralization that would be able to address the regional issues including poverty, resources and development. Even in England, RDA is an initial step not only for the economic development but also for the socio-cultural, environmental and political development and reform of the England's urban, rural as well as countryside development.

Because of the different level of economic development, socio-cultural and environmental specificities, the original British model of regional development might not be appropriate in Nepal. British model of regional development is led mainly by public/private organizations including business sectors. Nevertheless, in Nepal, private and business sectors are not strong like in England which can contribute to the regional development processes. However, academics and policy makers could learn and make regional level policies based on the British Model. This model of regional development could also help to increase interests of the community, business sector, NGO and CBOs in the development and in regional competitiveness. This model of regional development can also reduce the burden of the central government, for example NPC and other different ministries and departments.

Revitalization of regional agenda in Nepal is not an easy task. Several weak issues will emerge during the implementation of the regional policies. What would be the relationships of regional governments with central government and other lower tiers of regional units? How many agencies will

integrate in the new regional development model with their own and fragmented development strategies and policies? What would be the policies and strategies for the rural poverty, unemployment and deprivation? Does this model would be in the path of sustainable regional development? These issues are more critical and need to be considered in the broad regional development framework.

This is an innovative approach of regional development of Nepal. There are many models and approaches that could be an appropriate for the development. Further study and research in the field of regional development in order to make sustainable regional development is still important in Nepal.

Notes

1. Regional development planning is a comprehensive approach towards the reconciliation of economic and social aims as well as a means of broadening the scope of the allocative processes of the national plan ... regional planning provides an important link between the micro-analytic concern at local level and macro- economic objectives at the national level by laying stress on the co-ordinative relations among programmers in particular localities and new resource combination for improved land use (Gurung, 1969).
2. Regional development objectives of the Ninth plan were:
To minimize regional imbalances.
To alleviate poverty.
To achieve national socio-economic integration by expediting the social and economic development through promotion of activities that contribute to employment and income generation
To achieve national socio-economic integration by expediting the social and economic development through promotion of activities that contribute to employment and income generation and
To give emphasis to production enhancement through identification of local resources specific to the geographical regions.
3. Labour Party Election Manifesto on Regional Government Demand for directly elected regional government so varies across England that it would be wrong to impose a uniform system. In time we will introduce legislation to allow the people, region by region, to decide in a referendum whether they want directly elected regional government. Only where clear popular consent is established will arrangements be made for elected regional assemblies. This would require a predominantly unitary system of local government, as presently exists in Scotland and Wales, and confirmation by independent auditors that no additional public expenditure would be involved. Our plans will not mean adding a new tier of government to the existing English system.
Source: Labour Party Election Manifesto 1997, quoted in Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002
4. The RDAs will provide leadership in developing and implementing a new regional economic strategy for each region for 21st century. They will build upon existing regional partnerships and develop a fuller understanding of regional economies.

including research. They are to expand and develop regional economic intelligence.

The RDAs have, from 1st April 1999, the lead the role in the social, physical and economic regeneration of each region, seeking to maximize benefits and spread the benefits of economic development and investment. Each RDA will: (i) administer the Single Regeneration Budget(SRB) Challenge Fund; (ii) administer and combine the regeneration role of English Partnerships (EP) and the Rural Development Commission(RDC); and (iii) absorb and integrate the activities of existing inward investment agencies.

The RDAs must address both urban and rural issues, integrating town and country, and be responsible for the economic development and regeneration of rural areas.

The RDAs will take a 'leading' role in the European Union Structural Funds (EUSF) Programmers in each region for the 2000-2006 period. In the first instance, however, responsibility for delivering European Programmers remains with Government Offices for the Regions and with the Department of Trade and Industry.

The RDAs will provide advice to ministers on Regional Selective Assistance (RSA). The DTI has since reviewed RSA, which is seen as an important tool in attracting and retaining internationally mobile investment.

The RDAs will monitor and provide a regional focus for the work of Business Links in promoting small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and Enterprise programmes. The DfEE has reviewed the Training and Enterprise Councils (to be replace by LSCs) and the DTI is establishing the Small Business Services.

The RDAs will promote the reclamation and preparation of sites, including taking the role now played by English Partnerships through its regional offices. EP Regional Offices went into the RDAs, but EP has retained a central national role on key strategic programmers.

The RDAs will facilitate investments, including projects encouraging public-private partnerships. New Regional Capital Funds are to be established.

The RDAs will market their regions as business locations in conjunction with the invest in Britain Bureau and regional partners.

The RDAs will promote technology transfer, including maximizing the benefits of the work of the higher and further education institutions (universities and colleges) in the regions.

The RDAs will make improvements to the skill base of the region, including developing a regional skills agenda, assessing the contribution of TECs towards regional objectives and promoting training for major investments.

5. The responsibility of the regional administrator is to coordinator for the regional administration. The main duties and responsibility are:

To create the peace safety and harmony in the region

To monitor and coordinator the district administration in the region

To make regional; and district administration more transparency and public oriented

To care and maintenance the public and government properties in sides the regions

To provides the regular infuriation of the regional security to the centre government

To coordinate and observe the district development activities in sides the region
 To coordinator, manage and order for the suitable and regular prevention and control of natural disasters
 To submit the report regarding the international crime and accidents to the centre government and
 To follow the centre government orders and monitor them
 (Source: Nepal Gazette 2058 (2001), HMG, Nepal)

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ओभेलमा परेका काजी दामोदर पाँडे

गंगा कर्माचार्य (हाडा)

नेपालको एकीकरण अभियानमा दिलोज्यानले जुटेका धेरै भारदारहरूमा काजी दामोदर पाँडेको विशेष स्थान छ । करिव तीन दशकसम्म सैनिक र राजनीतिको क्षेत्रमा लागेर उनले जुन वर्चस्व कायम गरे, त्यसबाट उनी स्वदेशमा मात्र होइन विदेशमा पनि प्रशंसाका पात्र बन्न पुगेका थिए । नेपालको शाही सैनिक इतिहासमा युद्धकला र बहादुरीपनाका निमित्त आफ्नो नाम स्वर्ण अक्षरले लेखाउन सफल दामोदर पाँडे, समयको कुनै विन्दुमा पुगेर एक्कासी यसरी पतनावस्थामा पुगे कि त्यसबाट नेपालको इतिहाससमेत कलङ्कित हुन पुगेको छ । वि.सं. १८६० सालमा विरोधी समूहबाट विछुयाइएको कूटनीतिको जालमा उनी यसरी पछारिए कि सफाई दिन नपाउँदै कलङ्कित चरित्र लिएर जीवन त्याग्नु पर्यो । उनी, उनको परिवार र समर्थकहरूको ज्यान लिएर बाँकी रहेका परिवारको ठूलो दुर्दशा गराउने साठी साल पर्वको नकारात्मक असर इतिहासमा धेरैपल्ट पर्न गयो । दामोदर पाँडेको अन्त्यसँग जोडिएकाले यो साठी साल पर्वले नेपालको इतिहासमा विशेष महत्त्व राख्छ । उक्त घटनासँग सम्बन्धित ऐतिहासिक यथार्थतालाई प्रस्तुत गर्नु नै यस लेखको मुख्य लक्ष्य रहेको छ ।

राज त्यागपछि रणबहादुर शाहको प्रशासनमा हस्तक्षेप

राजा रणबहादुर शाहकी कान्छी महारानी कान्तवतीको स्वास्थ्यमा सुधार नभई रोग चकदैं गएपछि, पहिले उनले गरेको वाचाअनुसार १^१/_२ वर्षका युवराज गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाहलाई राज्याभिषेक दिने सम्पूर्ण तयारी हुन थाल्यो । उक्त कार्यका लागि कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतले कान्छी महारानीको विशेष सेवा गरेर, रणबहादुर शाहले शासन त्याग गरेर राज्यको मामलाबाट समेत अलग रहनु पर्छ भन्ने कुरामा अग्रसरता देखाए । उनकै योजनाअनुसार “बालक राजा गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाहलाई राजा मान्छौं” भन्ने कवुलियतनामाको ताम्रपत्र राज्याभिषेकको १७ दिन अगावै रणबहादुर शाहले भारदारहरूबाट गराए ।^१ उक्त ताम्रपत्रमा सही गर्ने ९५ जना भारदारहरूमा दामोदर पाँडेलगायत पाँडे परिवारका थुप्रै नामहरू परेका छन् । धर्मपत्रको आधारमा पाल्पाली राजा पृथ्वीपाल सेनद्वारा नेपाल अधिराज्यको राजाका रूपमा वि.सं. १८५५ फाल्गुण २८ गते गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाहको विधिपूर्वक राज्याभिषेक गराए । अभिषेकपछि भूतपूर्व राजा रणबहादुर शाहले राजधानीमा बस्नु हुँदैन भन्ने परम्परागत मान्यता रहँदै आएकोले— “राज्यको भोग जति गर्नु पर्ने हो सो गर्ने । अब उप्रान्त संसारको बन्धनलाई त्याग गरी तपस्या गर्ने इच्छा भयो र राज्य त्याग गर्ने” भनी राजा रणबहादुर शाहबाट जाहेर गराएपछि दुवै भू.पु. राजा रणबहादुर शाह र रानी कान्तवतीले गेरुवाबस्त्र धारण गरी देउपाटनमा गई बस्न

थाले । रणबहादुर शाहले उक्त समयमा स्वामी निर्वाणानन्द अथवा निर्गुणानन्दको नामसमेत ग्रहण गरे ।

नावालक राजा गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाहको शासन संचालनको निमित्त रणबहादुर शाहले आफ्नै सुविधाअनुसारको काजी परिषद्को गठन गरेका थिए । उक्त काजी परिषद्मा ३ वर्षका जेठा छोरा रणोद्योत शाहलाई मुख्य चौतरा पदमा नियुक्त गरेर अर्को छोरा शम्शेर शाह, सौताने भाईहरू- विदुर शाही र शेरबहादुर शाहीलाई पनि सामान्य चौतरामा उनले नियुक्त गरेका थिए । श्री कृष्ण शाह, बलभद्र शाह, बम शाह, ज्यान शाहहरूलाई पनि चौतरियामा नियुक्त गरेका थिए । कीर्तिमानसिंह, दामोदर पाँडे, रणजीत पाँडे, रणबम पाँडे, नरसिंह गुरुङ, त्रिभुवन प्रधान (खवास) आदि ठूला जमातलाई नावालक राजाको शासन संचालनमा सहयोग रहोस् भनेर काजी परिषद्मा सामेल गराए । कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेत मूलकाजी भए पनि दामोदर पाँडे पहिलेदेखि नै प्रभावशाली काजी थिए ।^१ चीन र तिब्बत सम्बन्धी मामला उनका भतिजा सर्वजीत पाँडे (रणशूर पाँडेका कान्छा छोरा) को मातहतमा थियो ।^२ शासन सत्ताबाट हटेका रणबहादुर शाह, भारदारहरूले बालक राजाप्रति वफादारी निभाउने छन् र आफूलाई कुनै प्रकारको समस्या आउने छैन भन्ने कुरामा हुक्क थिए । त्यस्तै जेठी महारानी राजराजेश्वरीलाई राज सहायक बनाएर प्रशासन चलाउन पाएकोमा भारदारहरू पनि प्रसन्न नै थिए ।

यस्तो स्थिति देशमा १ वर्ष मात्र कायम रह्यो । वि.सं. १८५६ को कार्तिकसम्म रणबहादुर शाह कान्छी महारानी कान्तवतीको उपचारमा व्यस्त रहेकाले प्रशासनमा उनले कुनै चासो देखाएनन् । तर बीच बीचमा उनले प्रशासनमा हात हाल्ने भएर काजीहरूलाई अप्ठेरोमा पार्ने चाहिँ गर्न थाले । कार्तिक महिनाको अन्ततिर कान्छी महारानीको असामयिक निधनबाट उनको मनस्थिति सन्तुलनमा रहेन र महारानीको उपचारमा असफल भएका वैद्य, पुरोहितहरूप्रति उनको अत्याचार शुरु भयो । उपत्यकाभित्रका शितला रोग लागेका बालबालिकाहरूलाई उनले चार भज्याइ कटाउने आदेश दिए । उनको उक्त व्यवहारबाट देवदेवीका मूर्ति-मन्दिरहरू पनि नराम्ररी प्रभावित भए । धार्मिक र सामाजिक क्षेत्र नराम्रोसँग प्रभावित भएपछि उनलाई "बहुलाहा राजा" को संज्ञा पनि दिइयो र उनी जनसमक्ष अत्यन्त अप्रिय बन्न पुगे । उनले धर्मपत्रको मर्यादालाई वेवास्ता गरी, स्वामीको भेष पनि परित्याग गरी राज्यको व्यवस्थामा खुलेआम हस्तक्षेप गर्न शुरु गरेपछि, दैनिक प्रशासनमा सुगमता ल्याउन भारदारहरूलाई बचाउको उपाय सोच्न विवश तुल्यायो । फलस्वरूप फागु पर्वको वहाना गरी मूलकाजी कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतले राजालाई वि.सं. १८५६ माघ १० गते काठमाण्डौबाट नुवाकोट पुऱ्याए ।

राज्य त्याग गराउनेमा सक्रिय भएका कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतबाट आफूलाई धोका भएको महसूस गरी रणबहादुर शाहले नुवाकोटमै पुगेर पनि केही भारदारहरूको वेइज्जती गरे । परशुराम थापा र प्रवल राना वेइज्जतीमा परे भने रणबम पाँडे (वंशराज पाँडेका छोरा) र सरदार अमर सिंह थापालाई पनि डोरीले बाँधेर उनले जनसमक्ष वेइज्जती गरे । उनको उक्त कार्यबाट भारदारहरू चिडिएर समस्या भन

चर्कियो । उनी नुवाकोटबाट काठमाण्डौ फर्केपछि समस्याको जड भएका उनी र उनका जेठी महारानी समेतलाई थुनामा राख्नु पर्ने निर्णय नुवाकोटबाट भारदारहरूले गुप्त रूपमा गरे ।

द्वैध शासनको सूत्रपात

नुवाकोटका भारदारहरूले रणबहादुर शाह र जेठी महारानीका विरुद्धमा गरेको निर्णयबाट असन्तुष्ट भएर चौतरिया बलभद्र शाह रातारात काठमाण्डौ आई सो भेद उनीबाट खुल्न गएपछि, रणबहादुर शाहको क्रोधको सीमा रहेन । नुवाकोटमै गएर उनले ती भारदारहरूलाई दण्ड दिने पनि विचार गरे । पछिको कुनै विचार नै नगरी उनले आफूले राज्याधिकार फिर्ता लिएको घोषणा गर्दै, नुवाकोटको काजी भद्रदारी सभा खारेज गरेर पुल्चोकमा नयाँ भारदारी सभाको गठन गरे । उक्त भारदारी सभामा प्रतिमान राना, रणकेशर पाँडे (दामोदर पाँडेका छोरा), जहरसिंह बस्नेत (कीर्तिमानसिंहका दाजु), अमरसिंह थापा (छोटा) आदि सम्मिलित थिए । गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाह र रणबहादुर शाहको नयाँ गठित सरकारका तर्फबाट साधारण जनता र सेनाका नाममा आदेशहरू जाहेर हुन थालेपछि नेपालमा द्वैध शासनको प्रारम्भ भयो ।^३ रणबहादुर शाहले पुल्चोकमा बसेर नुवाकोटको वैध सरकारका विरुद्धमा किल्लाबन्दी गर्न पनि आरम्भ गरे । राजराजेश्वरीले पनि रणबहादुर शाहकै पक्षमा लागि आदेशहरू जाहेर गरेपछि स्थिति भन्न चर्कन गयो । उनको आदेशमा नुवाकोटका भारदारहरूलाई "कुल्याहाहरू" भन्ने शब्द पनि प्रयोग गरिएको थियो । काठमाण्डौमा वैधानिक राजाप्रति वफादार भएका धेरै सैनिक कम्पनी र अफिसरहरू पनि थिए । संचारका साधनहरू पनि नुवाकोटकै नियन्त्रणमा रहेकाले रणबहादुर शाहबाट प्रसारित सन्देशहरू गन्तव्य स्थानसम्म समयमा पुग्न सकेनन् ।

सम्भावित गृहयुद्धमा दामोदर पाँडेको भूमिका

नुवाकोटबाट प्रसारित सन्देशहरू नियमित रूपमा समयमा नै गन्तव्यस्थानसम्म पुग्ने गरेकाले पश्चिमतर्फका गढीगौडाका सबै सैनिकहरू यथासमयमा नै नुवाकोट दरबारमा दाखिल भए । दामोदर पाँडेको निर्देशनमा भारदारहरूले विरोधी पक्षलाई स्पष्ट गरे कि धर्मपत्रको बन्देजमा परेकाले जनता र सैनिकहरूले वैधानिक सरकारको मात्र समर्थन गर्ने छन् । दामोदर पाँडेले पश्चिम विजयको समयमा देखाएको नरम र राम्रो व्यवहारबाट त्यस क्षेत्रका जनता उनका समर्थक बनेका थिए । गोरखा, गढवाल र पाल्पासँग उनको घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध रहेकाले त्यतातिरबाट समर्थन पाउने कुरामा दामोदर पाँडे हुक्क थिए । कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतको निर्देशन अनुसार दामोदर पाँडे पूरा तैयारीका साथ सैनिक दलको नेतृत्व गर्दै नुवाकोटबाट काठमाण्डौ उपत्यकातर्फ प्रस्थान गरे । उनले ककनीमा रहेका स्वामीज्यूका पक्षको फौजलाई आफ्नो पक्षमा मिलाएर मुडखुसम्म आइपुग्दा रणबहादुर शाहले आफ्नो सैनिक स्थितिको मूल्याङ्कन गरी दामोदर पाँडेसँग मुकाविला गर्नु व्यर्थ सम्झेर आफ्ना केही समर्थकहरूका साथ बनारसतर्फ प्रस्थान गरे । वि.सं. १८५७ जेष्ठ ८ गते साधुको भेषमा रणबहादुर शाहले भीमसेन थापा, प्राण शाह, दलभञ्जन पाँडे, बालनरसिंह कुँवर आदिका साथ

काठमाण्डौबाट हिँडेर जेष्ठ ११ गते सिमाना नाघेपछि जेष्ठ १६ गते बनारस पुगे । त्यसपछि उनले गठन गरेको भारदारी सभा पनि भंग भयो । रणबहादुर शाह, जेठी महारानीसमेतलाई खबर नगरी भावी अनिष्टको आशङ्का गरी जेष्ठको टन्टलापुर घामको पनि पर्वाह नगरी रातारात बनारस पुगे । जेठी महारानी पनि काठमाण्डौमा खतरा महसूस गरी बलभद्र शाहका साथ केही गरगहना लिएर रणबहादुर शाहका पछि लागिन् । सरकारका तर्फबाट उनीहरूलाई पक्रने कुनै प्रयास गरिएन र त्यही दिन राजालाई नुवाकोटबाट काठमाण्डौको दरबारमा पुर्‍याए । माहिली महारानी सुवर्णप्रभा बालक राजाका नायवी बनिन् ।^४

रणबहादुर शाहको बनारस पलायनपछि चौतरिया वम शाह, मूलकाजी कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेत र काजी दामोदर पाँडे निकै शक्तिशाली बने । कीर्तिमानसिंहका कारण बडा (काजी) अमरसिंह थापा पनि शक्तिशाली बने । उक्त घटनापछि जनता र भारदार दुवै थरीले आरामको सास फेरे । यसबाट नेपालमा हुन लागेको गृहयुद्ध रोकियो । रणबहादुर शाहले आफ्नै चरित्रका कारण मुलुकमा आफ्नै छोराको सरकारका विरुद्ध युद्ध हुन सक्ने परिस्थिति श्रृजना गरी आफै असफल भएको जनसमक्ष सिद्ध गरे । बनारस पलायनबाट उनले आफू र आफ्ना धेरै समर्थकहरूको जीवन नष्ट हुनबाट पनि बचाए । जनताले त्यसबेलासम्म रणबहादुर शाहका अत्याचारलाई बिर्सेका थिएनन् । त्यसैले दामोदर पाँडेले नेतृत्व गरेको नुवाकोटको सेनाको संख्याभन्दा उनको सेनाको संख्या सानो हुन गयो ।^५ दामोदर पाँडे कै व्यक्तित्वका कारण त्यसबेलाको गृहयुद्ध रोकियो । सो रोकिएको श्रेय केवल दामोदर पाँडैलाई मात्र प्राप्त हुन्छ । आफूले शासन सम्हालेको पाँच वर्षपछि रणबहादुर शाह आफ्नै चारित्रिक दुर्बलताका कारण शासनबाट मात्र होइन मुलुकबाट नै बलजप्ती निकालिए । रणबहादुर शाहको निरङ्कुश शासन र अनियमित उग्र मिजासबाट पीडित भारदारहरूको समूहलाई दामोदर पाँडेले नेतृत्व गरेका थिए । वैधानिक राजाको पक्षमा भएर, त्यसको रक्षार्थ उनले हतियार उठाउने भएकाले, राजधानी र पश्चिमी जिल्लाका धेरै जनताको सहयोगको आश्वासन पनि दामोदर पाँडेले प्राप्त गरे, भने रणबहादुर शाहले चाहिँ हारको आभास पाई बनारस पलायन गर्नु पर्‍यो । उनले आफ्ना साथ भीमसेन थापा, गुरु रङ्गनाथ पण्डित, कृष्णराम पण्डित, दलभञ्जन पाँडे, एकदेव वैद्य, बालनर सिंह कुँवर, अन्य विभिन्न दर्जाका भारदारहरू र तिनका परिवार र त्यससँग सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिहरू पनि लगेका थिए ।^६ रणबहादुर शाहको बनारस पलायनपछि यो कुरा थाहा पाएका चिनियाँ अम्बाहरूले चारकाजीका नाममा लेखेको पत्रमा दामोदर पाँडेकै नाम अग्रपङ्क्तिमा परेको छ । जसमा “रणबहादुर शाहले ध्यान धर्मको काम छोडी राजकाजमा हातहाली चाहिने नचाहिने काम गर्दा प्रजा प्राणिको मनमा ननिको पर्न गएको र केही घटिया मानिसले उनलाई फिरंगीको देशमा लगी उनीहरूका सहायताले मुलुकमा कब्जा गर्न आउने विचार मति विग्रेका राजाको भएको ...” कुरा लेखिएको छ ।^७

दामोदर पाँडेको जीवनी

काजी कालु पाँडेका छोरा, दामोदर पाँडे वि.सं. १८०८ मा गोरखामा जन्मेका थिए । वि.सं. १८१४ जेष्ठ १९ गते कीर्तिपुरमा भएको पहिलो युद्धमा कालु पाँडे मारिए पछि पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको ‘मरवट’ व्यवस्था अन्तर्गत गोरखा दरबारमा उनी हुर्केका थिए । दाजु बंशराज पाँडे सँगसँगै हुर्केका दामोदर पाँडे पनि एक योग्य लडाका भई निस्के । केहरसिंह बस्नेत, अभिमानसिंह बस्नेत र बुढा अमरसिंह थापाहरू पनि यही नीतिअनुरूप हुर्केर प्रसिद्ध योद्धाका रूपमा देखापरेका थिए ।^८



मुख्य मन्त्री औ मुख्य सेनापति काजी दामोदर पाँडे

श्यामवर्णका दामोदर पाँडेका आँखाहरू राता थिए ।^९ शारिरिक बनोटमा यिनी अत्यन्त मोटाघाटा तन्दुरुस्त भएकाले, आफ्नो पछिल्लो बासस्थान भएको ठाउँ, भेडासिङको नाउदेवलको जंगी साँढेलाई उनी जुरुक्क उचाल्दथे भन्ने स्थानीय मानिसहरूको कथावत रहेको छ । यिनका अक्षरहरू राम्रा थिए र सबै कुरा विचार गरेर मात्र उनी गर्ने गर्दथे ।^{१०} गोरखाले दुधकोशी पूर्वका राज्यहरूलाई नेपाल

अधिराज्यमा गाभ्ने अभियान चलाउँदा उनी कुनै गोरखाली फौजका दलमुखी थिए । वि.सं. १८२५ मा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले उनलाई रजबन्धकी जमीन र सालिन्दा रु. ५०१ को जागिर दिएका थिए । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको अन्तिम समयमा उनी अन्य सेनापतिहरूका साथ पूर्वी मोर्चामा खडा थिए ।^{१२} प्रतापसिंह शाहको पालामा वि.सं. १८३३ मा भएको पूर्वी युद्धको अभियानको क्रममा 'काजी' मान प्राप्त गरेका दामोदर पाँडेले, गजेन्द्रलक्ष्मीको नायवीकालमा वि.सं. १८३९ आश्विनमा, अन्य सेनापतिहरूका साथ लागी लाखाजुँग, रागीनास आदि २४ थाना दखल गरे । वि.सं. १८४० पौष १५ गते बंशराज पाँडे बेतिया धपाइए पछि उनी पनि खोसुवामा परे र दाजु बंशराज पाँडेका पछि लागे । अर्को वर्ष बंशराज पाँडे काठमाण्डौ आउँदा उनी पनि संगै आए । वि.सं. १८४३ आषाढमा राजसहायक बहादुर शाहले हाँकेको युद्धले काली नदीपारका समस्त चौबीसी र बाइसी राजा रजौटाहरूलाई नेपालको अधीनमा ल्याउने विजय अभियानका उनी प्रधानसेनापति बन्न समर्थ भई त्यसबेला उनी पर्वतमा युद्ध कार्यमा व्यस्त थिए ।^{१३} बहादुर शाहले निम्न कारणहरूबाट उनलाई योग्य सेनापति मानेका थिए । उनी आफ्ना पिताका समयका योग्य सेनापति कालु पाँडेका छोरा र आफ्नै विश्वासी काजी बंशराज पाँडेका कान्छा भाइ थिए । पूर्वी नेपालको अभियानमा नाम कमाई सकेका दामोदर पाँडे, बहादुर शाह विदेशिंदा साथै बेतिया गएका थिए । खान्दानी र योग्य काजीको नेतृत्वमा चलाइएको युद्धमा जान कुनै सेनापतिले पनि संकोच मान्ने छैन भन्ने बहादुर शाहको सोचाई थियो ।^{१४} वि.सं. १८४७ मा नेपाल अधिराज्य पूर्वमा टिष्टादेखि पश्चिममा महाकालीसम्म विस्तार भएकोमा दामोदर पाँडेको ठूलो भूमिका रहेको छ ।

दामोदर पाँडेको प्रसिद्धि खासगरी नेपाल तिब्बत-चीन युद्धबाट विस्तृत भएको थियो । वि.सं. १८४५ मा नेपाल- तिब्बत बीच भएको युद्धपछि १८४६ मा तिब्बती सरदारले युद्धपछिको शर्त भंग गरेपछि दुई देश बीचमा वि.सं. १८४८ मा पुनः युद्ध शुरु भयो । काठमाण्डौबाट आएको सेनाको नेतृत्व गर्नेमा सरदार भगीरथ पन्त, सरदार रणजीत कुँवर आदिका साथै काजी दामोदर पाँडे पनि नाइके दलमुखी थिए । धुन्चेमा नै दामोदर पाँडेको फौजले चीनियाँ फौजसँग मूठभेड गर्‍यो । धुन्चेबाट पछि हटेर उनले घैवुडमा आई युद्ध गरे । वेत्रावतीको सेरोफेरोमा आफ्ना सम्पूर्ण सेना जम्मा गरेर उनले युद्धको तयारी गरी रहेका थिए । यसैमा दुई सरकारको बीच सम्झौताको कुरा चल्यो । वार्ता भंग भएपछि पुनः शुरु भएको युद्धमा दामोदर पाँडेको सेनाबाट चिनियाँ पक्षलाई निकै धौ धौ परिसकेको थियो भन्ने कुरा स्टिलरले लेखेका छन् । वि.सं. १८५८ मा दामोदर पाँडेले दिगर्चासम्म जितेको र चिनियाँ फौजलाई कतल गरेको बयान परराष्ट्र मन्त्रालयमा रहेको सामग्रीमा उल्लेख छ ।^{१५} वेत्रावतीसम्म चिनियाँ फौज आई पुगेकाले काठमाण्डौमा एउटा त्रासपूर्ण वातावरण बनेको थियो । फु कि याङको नेतृत्वमा आएको विशाल चिनियाँ फौज (नेपाली इतिहासकारहरूले १०,००० को संख्या भनी लेखेका छन्) का अगाडि थोरै संख्यामा भएका नेपाली फौजको केही जोर चलेन । थप सैनिक सहायता पाएमा युद्ध चालु राख्ने नेपाली फौजको इच्छा हुँदाहुँदै पनि वि.सं. १८४९ मा नेपाल सरकारले

वेत्रावतीको सन्धि गर्नु पर्‍यो । सैनिक दृष्टिकोणबाट अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण मानिने वेत्रावतीको युद्धबाट दामोदर पाँडेको प्रतिष्ठा निकै ऊँचा हुन पुग्यो । १२ हजार फीटको ऊँचाईमा लड्ने बीर दामोदर पाँडेको कार्य कुशलता र वीरताको प्रशंसा गर्न अहिले पनि नेपालका सैनिक अधिकृतहरू पछि पर्दैनन् । आफ्नो पदीय कामको शिलशिलामा वेत्रावतीको सेरोफेरोमा पुग्दा, भू.पु. प्रमुख सैनिक सचिव (अ.प्र.) रथी श्री ऋषिकुमार पाँडेज्यूले काजी दामोदर पाँडेको कार्यकुशलता र सैनिक वीरताका धेरै कुरा त्यहाँ सुन्नु भएको थियो । जस्तै दामोदर पाँडेलाले युद्धका सिद्धान्तहरूबारे राम्रो ज्ञान भएकाले उनी आफ्नो पक्षका सेनालाई उत्साहित बनाई शत्रु पक्षको सेनालाई हतोत्साही बनाउने कुरामा दक्ष थिए । तिब्बती सेनालाई भयभीत तुल्याई सम्झौतामा ल्याउने प्रयास उनीबाट भएको मानिन्छ । युद्धपछि तिब्बतमा खडा भएको उनको स्तूपबारे त्यहाँका गाउँलेहरूको सकारात्मक धारणा रहेको देखिन्छ । उनको स्तूपबाट बगेको पानी उनको तरवारमा परेर तप्केको सो पानी खान दिएमा मुत्केरी व्यथा निको हुन्छ भन्ने स्थानीय विश्वास रहेकाले, उनको सो स्तूप भत्काउन खोज्दा पनि नष्ट हुन नदिई स्थानीय बासीले यथावत राख्न लगाए भन्ने जस्ता कुराहरू वि.सं. २०२४ सालतिर भू.पु. प्रमुख सैनिक सचिवज्यूले त्यस बेलाका लेफ्टिनेन्ट मन्सुदाविक्रम शाहबाट सुन्नु भएको रहेछ । दामोदर पाँडेको असाधारण खुकुरी आज पनि नेपालको म्युजियममा रहेको छ । काठमाण्डौको टुँडिखेल आर्मी हेडक्वार्टरमा पनि उनको र उनका पिता कालु पाँडेको खुकुरी प्रदर्शनका लागि राखिएका छन् ।

वि.सं. १८४९ सम्ममा बहादुर शाहले काजीहरूका नाममा लेखेका पत्रहरूमा दामोदर पाँडे जेठाबाठा मानिएका छन् ।^{१६} बहादुर शाहको नायवीकालमा भएको तिब्बत र चीनसँगको युद्धमा उनले सैनिक दक्षता देखाउने अवसर पाए । सोही युद्धको शिलशिलामा शक्ति बल्लभ अर्ज्यालले दामोदर पाँडेलाले अति शूरवीर काजीका रूपमा उल्लेख गरेर "बीरहरूमा तेश्रो बीर" भन्ने संज्ञा दिएका छन् । 'चीनी बादशाहको संरक्षणमा रहेको तिब्बतको महत्त्वपूर्ण सुनचाँदी भएको क्षेत्र दिगर्चालाई रणबहादुर शाहको आज्ञा पाई, कालु पाँडेका छोरा दामोदर पाँडेले आफ्नै बाहुबलले कब्जा गरे' भनी गौरवपूर्ण भाषामा उनले उल्लेख गरेका छन् । वि.सं. १८४८ मा नेपाली सेनाले तिब्बतमा पुनः आक्रमण गर्दा, त्यहाँ ज्योतिषी बनेर गएका गौरीपति पाँडेलाले दामोदर पाँडेले धर्मपुत्र बनाई वि.सं. १८४९ मा लेखिदिएको धर्मपत्र पाइएको छ । यो उनको युद्ध जित्ने उपाय मानिएको छ । गौरीपति पाँडेका दाजु लक्ष्मीपति पाँडेलाले लेखेका वि.सं. १८४९ का लालमोहरहरूमा पनि पछिल्लिर् माफतमा बम शाह र दामोदर पाँडेको नाम पनि परेको छ ।^{१७} दामोदर पाँडेले कमाएको उक्त प्रतिष्ठाकै कारण बहादुर शाहको पतन पछि वि.सं. १८५१ मा गठन भएको काजी परिषदमा पनि उनको स्थान सुरक्षित हुन गयो । उनी बहादुर शाहका समर्थक भन्ने थाहा पाएर पनि कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतपछि उक्त परिषदमा उनको नाम समावेश गरिएको थियो । युद्ध सकेर मुलुकमा शान्ति छाएको बेला उनले नुवाकोट भैरव मन्दिरमा एक घण्टा चढाए । उक्त घण्टाको अभिलेखमा "वि.सं. १८५३ मुलुकी

देवान दामोदर पाँडे" अंकित छ । त्यसबाट युद्धको समाप्तिपछि शान्तिको समयमा नागरिक प्रशासनतर्फ काजी भएर उनले कार्य गरेको देखिन्छ ।¹⁵

दामोदर पाँडेको नायब महारानी सुवर्णप्रभासँग मतभेद

सुवर्णप्रभाको नायबी शुरू भएपछि चार काजीहरूले रणबहादुर शाहको वनारस प्रस्थानको समाचारलाई ल्हासास्थित अम्बामार्फत् चीनी बादशाह कहाँ पठाए । त्यसमा रणबहादुर शाहको वनारस यात्रा धार्मिक कारणबाट नभएर राजनैतिक कारणले भएको कुराको उल्लेख छ ।¹⁶ उनको अनुपस्थितिमा कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतले सुवर्णप्रभासँग मिलेर निक्कै शक्ति बढाए । उनले वि.सं. १८५७ जेष्ठ १७ मा मुलुकमा पजनी गरे । यसबाट दामोदर पाँडेका समर्थकहरू प्रभावित भए । दरबारमा राजराजेश्वरीका समर्थकहरू पनि रुष्ट भएर कीर्तिमानसिंहका विरुद्ध कारवाही गर्ने योजना बनाए । चौतरा काजी र अन्य भारदारहरू (जम्मा एकसय छब्बीस जना) ले आपसमा मिलोमतो गरी कीर्तिमानसिंहको सुवर्णप्रभासँग अनुचित सम्बन्ध रहेको अफवाह फैलाए । उक्त संगठित भारदारहरूले वीरकञ्चन खवास र श्यामदत्त शाही नामका दुई जनालाई खटाई वि.सं. १८५८ माघमा कीर्तिमानसिंहको हत्या गर्न लगाए ।¹⁷ हत्याकाण्डपछि हत्यारा पत्ता लगाउन सुवर्णप्रभाले नुहुँ टोलमा भारदारी सभाको आयोजना गरिन् । सभाले मुख्य दोषी श्रीकृष्ण शाहलाई ठानेको थियो । केही अन्य भारदारहरूका साथ विदुर शाही, रणजीत पाँडे पनि डराएर मुग्लान पसीसकेका थिए । उक्त काण्डमा धेरै भारदारहरू सजायका भागी बने । प्रतिमन राना, इन्द्रवीरसिंह खवास र गर्भु खवासलाई मृत्युदण्ड दिइयो । लगभग १००-१२० उमरावहरू कैद गरिए । त्यस हत्याकाण्डको केही छिट्टा दामोदर पाँडे र उनका परिवार माथि पनि परे । कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतसँग दामोदर पाँडे चिडिएको कुरा सुवर्णप्रभालाई थाहा थियो । त्यसैले महारानी सुवर्णप्रभाको नजर उनीमाथि पनि पर्न गयो र उनीसँग पनि सोधपूछ गर्न लगाइयो । केही इतिहासकारहरूको लेखाईमा हत्याकाण्डका बेला दामोदर पाँडे राजधानी बाहिर थिए । आफ्ना भानिजको हत्याको खबर पाई उनी तुरुन्तै राजधानीमा आई हत्याराको खोजी गर्ने प्रयास गर्दै थिए । सुवर्णप्रभाको नजर उनी माथि परेपछि उनी र उनका दुई छोरा र केही समर्थकहरू पनि नजरबन्दमा परे । दामोदर पाँडेका विरुद्ध केही प्रमाण प्राप्त नभएकाले उनी उम्के । तर उनका छोराहरू र समर्थकहरूचाहिँ केही समयपछि मात्र उम्कन सके । यो घटनापछि सुबुद्धि खड्का सुवर्णप्रभाका हजरिया भए ।¹⁸ सुवर्णप्रभाको उक्त कारवाहीबाट दामोदर पाँडे ज्यादै रुष्ट भए । त्यस बेलासम्म उनी काजी परिषद्मा कीर्तिमानसिंहपछि भए पनि चौतरिया बम शाहपछि प्रभावशाली काजी उनैलाई मान्दैआएको थियो । आफ्ना युद्धप्रेमी दाजुभाई र समर्थकहरूको उनलाई धेरै समर्थन प्राप्त थियो । महारानी सुवर्णप्रभासँग दामोदर पाँडेको मतभेद हुनुको पहिलो कारण, सुबुद्धि खड्कालाई दरबारबाट अलग्याउनु पर्छ भन्ने गुटका दामोदर पाँडे प्रवक्ता थिए । दोश्रो रणोद्योत शाहलाई राजा बनाउने सुवर्णप्रभाको प्रयासलाई उनी विरोध गर्ने गर्दथे । कट्टरपन्थी दरबारियाहरू पनि यस कुरामा राजी थिएनन् । दामोदर

पाँडेको डाहा गर्ने पनि दरवारमा धुप्रै भारदारहरू थिए । वि.सं. १८५८ को फागुनतिर दरबारिया दाउपेचका कारण उनले राजीनामा गरे । रमाकान्तको लेखाईमा दामोदर पाँडे र सुवर्णप्रभाका बीच सम्बन्ध राम्रो नभएकोमा कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतको हत्यापछि यो भन विग्रिन गयो । कीर्तिमानसिंहको हत्याको शंकामा उनी सेवाबाट निकालिए । दामोदर पाँडे सेवाबाट हटेपछि सुवर्णप्रभा ज्यादै खुसी भइन् । यो प्रसन्नताको घडीमा रणबहादुर शाहले उनलाई एक सुनको औंठी उपहार स्वरूप पठाए । काजी परिषद्मा तुरुन्त पुनर्गठन भएपछि बमशाह मुख्य काजी भए र चौतरिया शेरबहादुर शाही र बस्नेत दाजुभाईहरू परिषद्का नयाँ सदस्य भए । सुबुद्धि खड्काका अगाडि बमशाह प्रभावशाली हुन सकेनन् । प्रशासन अझ कमजोर भएकाले अंग्रेजी आवासीय दूत कप्तान नक्ससँग हेटौडामा नेपाली भारदारहरूले व्यवहार गर्ने समयमा बम शाहलाई मुश्किल पर्न गयो । त्यसैले उनले दामोदर पाँडेलाई काजी परिषद्मा सामेल गर्ने निक्कै कोशीस गरेकाले वि.सं. १८५९ जेष्ठतिर उनी काजी परिषद्मा सरीक भए । हेटौडामा नक्ससँग व्यवहार गर्ने समयमा उनीपछि त्यहीँ रोकिएकाले नक्ससँग लागी काठमाण्डौ आएका थिएनन् । सेवाबाट हटेको समयमा पनि दामोदर पाँडे हात बाँधेर बसेका थिएनन् । विपक्षीसँग उनले हात मिलाएर सुवर्णप्रभाको विरोध गरेको कुराको वर्णनपछि आउँदै छ ।¹⁹

रणबहादुर शाहको राजत्यागपछि भारदारहरूमा गुटबन्दी शुरू भएको थियो । त्यसबेला रणबहादुर शाहले गरेको व्यवहारका कारण भारदारहरूमा त्रासको वातावरण छाएको थियो । भूमि र शक्ति प्राप्तिका लागि तिनीहरूले आपसमा हानथाप पनि शुरू गरे । मूलकाजी कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतको समयमा पनि आफ्नै सैनिक योग्यताका कारण दामोदर पाँडेले उनकै वरावरको शक्तिको उपभोग गरीरहेका थिए । न्यायिक क्षेत्रमा पनि समर्थकहरूको संख्या बढाएर उनले आफ्नो स्थिति मजबूत पारेका थिए । कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतको हत्यापछि शक्ति सन्तुलन विग्रिन गयो । तैपनि दामोदर पाँडेमाथि प्रत्यक्ष प्रहार गर्ने सकिँदैन भन्ने विचारले रणबहादुर शाहले उनका समर्थकहरूलाई हातमा लिएर उनको बदनाम गर्ने कोशीस गरे । रणबहादुर शाहले सुवर्णप्रभा र बख्तावरसिंह बस्नेतका नाममा छुट्टाछुट्टै पत्रहरू लेखेर उनलाई दामोदर पाँडेबाट फुटाएर आफूतिर मिलाउने प्रयासमा, उनलाई "कान्छो छोरो" को नाता पनि दिइएको थियो । यदि उनी रणबहादुर शाहको पक्षमा रहेमा, पाँडेको भन्दा उनले तीन गुणा विना पाउने आश पनि देखाए । यसै शिलशिलामा भीमसेन थापाले पनि बख्तावरसिंह बस्नेतलाई कान्छा बाबा भनी नाता जोडे । उनलाई दामोदर पाँडेबाट फुटाउन उनले भरमादुर कोशीस गरे । दामोदर पाँडेले पनि काठमाण्डौको प्रशासनमा आफ्नो स्थिति जमाउन सुवर्णप्रभालाईभन्दा अन्य कुनैलाई नै सहयोग गर्नु पर्ने कुरा सोचे । सीमाक्षेत्रमा नक्ससँग नेपाली प्रतिनिधि मण्डलको कुराकानी भईरहेको बेला, जेठी महारानी राजराजेश्वरीले वनारस छोडी काठमाण्डौ प्रवेश गर्ने इरादाले बम शाहसँग भेट्न आउँदा, उनीसँग व्यवहार गर्ने कुराको जिम्मा बम शाहले दामोदर पाँडेलाई नै दिएका थिए । सुवर्णप्रभाको नायबीले राज्य चलनसमेत देखेका दामोदर पाँडेले, उनका प्रतिद्वन्दी जेठी महारानीलाई राजसहायक बनाई प्रशासनमा स्थिरता

ल्याउने कुरा सोचे।^{१३} वम शाहको आदेशले उनी नक्ससँग काठमाण्डौ नफर्की जेठी महारानीलाई सीमा क्षेत्रमा रोक्ने उनको प्रयासबाट पछि सुवर्णप्रभाको भाग्य पनि निर्धारण हुन गयो।

वनारसमा रणबहादुर शाहको प्रचार बाजी

रणबहादुर शाह वनारसतिर लागेपछि सन्तोषको सास फेर्न थालेका नेपालका भारदारहरूले सोचे जस्तो भएन। रणबहादुर शाह र उनका समर्थकहरूले पनि शुरूमा वनारसमा स्वच्छन्दताको अनुभव गर्न थालेका थिए। तर तुरुन्तै उनलाई त्यहाँ आर्थिक संकटको अनुभव भएपछि 'नेपालका दुष्ट भारदारहरूको कुचकले आफू विदेशिनु परेको र अंग्रेजको आर्थिक र सैनिक सहायता पाएमा आफूले पुनः नेपालको प्रशासनमा अधिकार जमाउन सक्ने आशय उनले अंग्रेजी अधिकारीहरू समक्ष व्यक्त गर्न पुगे। यसै अवसरको प्रतीक्षा गरिरहेका, अंग्रेज कम्पनी सरकारको निर्मित यो सुवर्ण अवसर भयो। भारत भूमिमा शरण लिन आएका भूपू राजाको सेवा सत्कारको निमित्त कम्पनी सरकारले प्रतिमास १५००/- रूपायाँ आफ्नै तर्फबाट खानी दिएर क्याप्टेन नक्सलाई नियुक्त गरे। रणबहादुर शाहले माग गरेजस्तै कम्पनी सरकारको ग्यारेन्टीमा उनलाई नेपालमा पुनः स्थापना गर्न तत्कालीन भारदारहरू तयार छन कि छैनन् भन्ने कुरा बुझ्नु नक्सको काम थियो। केही भारदारहरू चौतर्ग्या वम शाह, हस्तदल शाह, शम्शेर शाह, पुष्कर शाह र राजपरिवारका सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिहरू पनि अंग्रेजको रेखदेखमा रणबहादुर शाहलाई प्रशासनको प्रमुख व्यक्तिको रूपमा राख्न चाहेको कुरा नक्सकहाँ पत्राचार गरेकोले नक्सले पनि आफ्नो स्वीकृतिमहित सो प्रस्ताव कलकत्तामा गर्भनर जनरल कहाँ पठाएको थियो। त्यसवेला अंग्रेज कम्पनी सरकार भारतमा मराठाहरूसँगको युद्धमा व्यस्त भएकाले तत्कालीन गर्भनर जनरल वेलेश्लीले नेपालप्रति कडा नीति लिएनन्। भारतीय राजाहरूलाई विस्तारै अंग्रेजी नियन्त्रणमा राख्ने उनको नीति (Subsidiary Alliance) भएको भए पनि हाल नेपालसँग नरम नीति अपनाएर त्यहाँको सरकारसँग सम्बन्ध बढाउने उनी कोशीसमा थिए। उनी नेपाल सरकारबाट राजनैतिक र व्यावसायिक दुवै प्रकारका उपलब्धिहरू लिन चाहन्थे। वनारसस्थित प्रवासी नेपालीहरूसँग पनि साँठगाँठ गरेर रणबहादुर शाह घर फर्कने योजना बनाउने तरखरमा थिए। परशुराम थापा र रङ्गनाथ पण्डितहरूसँग उनको मिलोमतो भएर यस कामको जिम्मा परशुराम थापालाई दिइयो र यसमा उनले सफलता पाउन सकेमा थापा वंशलाई गोरखाको "धरधर" मा समावेश गर्ने कुराको तय पनि भयो। रणबहादुर शाहलाई घर फर्कन कम्पनी सरकारसँग मद्दत माग्ने कुराको सल्लाह पनि भीमसेन थापा र रङ्गनाथ पण्डितबाट प्राप्त भएको थियो। तर ती दुवै राजनीतिमा अनभिज्ञ र कच्चा उमेरका थिए। कम्पनी सरकारसँग उनले मद्दत मागेको थाहा पाएपछि नेपाल सरकारले डगएर उनलाई घर फर्कन निम्तो दिने छ भन्ने सोचाईमा रणबहादुर शाह बसेका थिए। उनको प्रस्तावलाई कम्पनीले अस्वीकार गरेको कुराको एकीन नेपाल सरकारलाई हुने छैन भन्ने सोचेर अंग्रेजबाट नेपालमा उनको पुनर्स्थापना हुने त्रासलाई नै उनले आफ्नो प्रभावशाली हतियार माने। तर कम्पनी सरकारले भने

रणबहादुर शाहको वनारस प्रस्थान बारेमा सम्पूर्ण विवरण प्राप्त गरेपछि, गोरखालीहरूसँग भूपू राजा रणबहादुर शाहको कारणबाट मुकाविला गर्नु उचित नदेखेर वरु सम्बन्ध स्थापना गर्नु नै श्रेयस्कर सम्झ्यो। अंग्रेजी भूमिमा बसेर रणबहादुर शाहले त्रास फैलाएको दामोदर पाँडेले महसूस गरे।^{१४}

कम्पनी सरकारका तर्फबाट नेपाल सरकार समक्ष सन्धिका प्रस्तावहरू आई नेपालका तर्फबाट गजराज मिश्र र अंग्रेजको तर्फबाट एक अफिसरको बीचमा पटनामा छलफल भइरहेको समयमा, काठमाण्डौमा कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतको हत्या भएको समाचार त्यहाँ आइपुग्यो। यो समाचारलाई आफ्नो अनुकूल बनाएर रणबहादुर शाहले कीर्तिमानसिंहका भाई काजी वज्रान सिंह बस्नेत र आमा चित्रा देवीलाई सान्त्वना स्वरूप पत्रहरू पठाएर अनेक आश्वासनहरू पनि दिए। त्यस्तै नायब महारानी सुवर्णप्रभा, चौतरिया शेरबहादुर शाही र नेपालका अन्य भारदारहरूलाई रणबहादुर शाहले छुट्टाछुट्टै पत्रहरू पठाएर अंग्रेजसँग सन्धि नगर्नु र त्यसको नराम्रो प्रतिफलको समेत उनले पत्रमा उल्लेख गरे। कीर्तिमानसिंहको हत्यामा दामोदर पाँडेको संलग्नता हुनसक्ने र पाँडेहरूको हातमा सेनाको समर्थन र पजनीको अधिकार दिनु हुँदैन, बस्नेतहरूले उनीहरूबाट सतर्क रहनु पर्छ र गजराज मिश्र र दामोदर पाँडेहरूलाई समाप्त गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने समेत उनले शेरबहादुर शाहीलाई लेखेको पत्रमा उल्लेख गरे। अंग्रेजहरूको "फुटाऊ र राज गर" भन्ने सिद्धान्तमा लागेर रणबहादुर शाहले नेपालको एकीकरणमा ढाल र तरवार बनेका क्रमशः पाँडे र बस्नेतहरूका बीच ठूलो फाटो ल्याउने प्रयास गरे। नेपाल फर्कनेहरूलाई उनले "आफू छिट्टै घर फर्कनेछु" भन्ने खबर पनि दिएर पठाउने गरे।^{१५}

नेपाल-अंग्रेज वाणिज्य सन्धि (१८०१) र दामोदर पाँडे

राजधानीमा उत्पात मचाई सकेपछि आफ्नो असफलताको आभास पाएका रणबहादुर शाह अप्रत्याशित रूपले वनारस प्रस्थान गरे। उनको वनारस प्रस्थान बारे नेपालका भारदारहरूले चीनी बादशाहलाई दिएको समाचारमा, उनी राजनैतिक कारणबाट वनारस प्रस्थान गरेको कुरा लेखेका थिए। त्यसपछि पहिलेकै अनुसार काजी परिषद्ले कार्य गर्न थाल्यो र तिब्बत र चीनतर्फको कामकाज पनि सर्वजीत पाँडेकै हातमा रह्यो।

वनारस पुगेका रणबहादुर शाहले नेपालको राजनीतिमा चाख राख्ने गरेर नेपाल फर्कन कम्पनीको गुहारसमेत माग्न थाले। उनको त्यस कारवाहीबाट नेपालका भारदारहरूलाई पनि सतर्क रहनु पर्ने बाध्यता भयो। यसै शिलसिलामा गजराज मिश्र पटनामा गई अंग्रेजसँग सम्पर्क गरिरहेको समयमा नेपालका मूलकाजी कीर्तिमानसिंह बस्नेतको हत्या भएको खबर वनारसमा आइपुग्यो। उक्त हत्या काण्डबाट फाइदा उठाउने विचार गरेर रणबहादुर शाहले भारदारहरूलाई दामोदर पाँडेको विरुद्धमा उचाल्न यसलाई ढालको रूपमा प्रयोग गरे। यस कुराको वर्णन माथि भईसकेको छ। कीर्तिमानसिंहको हत्यापछि अंग्रेजसँग सम्बन्ध बढाउने कुरामा बमशाह र दामोदर पाँडे नै मुख्य रूपमा अगाडि आए। नेपालमा अंग्रेज कम्पनीले चारकोठी थाप्ने

अधिकार पाउने शर्तमा मात्र तिनीहरू रणबहादुर शाहलाई मद्दत दिन तयार भएपछि, उनको उक्त प्रयास व्यर्थ भयो । नेपालका भारदारहरू पनि अंग्रेजसँग सम्बन्ध बढाउन उत्सुक देखिएपछि, सन् १७९२ मार्च १ मा गर्भन्तर जनरल लर्ड कर्णवालिसले नेपालसँग गरेको वाणिज्य सन्धि भंग भइसकेकोले, त्यसलाई जीवित पार्ने अवसरको रूपमा लिई अब लर्ड वेलेस्लीले नेपालको प्रस्तावलाई स्वीकार गरे । यसै अनुसार अक्टोबर ३०, १८०१ (१८५८ कार्तिक) मा दुई देशका बीच वाणिज्य र मैत्री सन्धिमा हस्ताक्षर भयो ।

उक्त सन्धिअनुसार नक्स अंग्रेजी कम्पनी सरकारका आवासीय दूतका रूपमा नेपाल आउने भए । सन् १७९२ को वाणिज्य सन्धिले जस्तै यस सन्धिले पनि भारत र तिब्बतबीचको व्यापारलाई बढावा दिने भयो । रणबहादुर शाह बनारसमा रहनुजेल उनी माथि कम्पनीले गरेको लगानीको बदलामा वर्षेनी ८२,०००/- रुपियाँ उठ्ने चौदण्डी र विजयपुरको जग्गा नेपाल सरकारले रणबहादुर शाहलाई दिने भयो । अवध र नेपालबीच सीमा विवाद भएमा दुवै देशका सरकारहरूले अंग्रेजी मध्यस्थतामा समस्याको समाधान गर्ने भए । ठग-डोकाहरूको र अन्य शरणार्थी समस्या पनि यसरी नै समाधान हुने भयो । नेपाल-अंग्रेज वाणिज्य सन्धिपछि, मकवानपुर बापत नेपालले अंग्रेज कम्पनी सरकारलाई बुझाउने गरेका धेरै हात्ती बुझाउनु नपर्ने भयो । सन्धिको नवौँ धाराले रणबहादुर शाहमाथि केही प्रतिबन्ध लगाइए । रणबहादुर शाहलाई नियन्त्रणमा राख्ने शर्तहरू बाहेक अन्य दफाहरू अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सन्धि अनुरूप नै थिए । दामोदर पाँडेका विरोधीहरूले यस सन्धिको उल्टो अर्थ लगाए पनि तत्कालीन परिस्थितिको विचार गरेमा यस सन्धिलाई अनुचित भन्न सकिदैन । सन्धिका पक्षधर मानिने बम शाह, दामोदर पाँडे र भित्र भित्रै विरोध गर्ने इन्द्रवीर बस्नेत र अन्य भारदारहरू पनि सन्धिपछि कप्तान नक्सको स्वागतार्थ सीमा क्षेत्रमा जम्मा भए । रणबहादुर शाहले गजराज मिश्र र दामोदर पाँडेलालाई अनेक लाञ्छना लगाएर, नक्सलाई कुनै हालतमा पनि नेपाल भित्र्याउनु हुँदैन भन्ने समाचार पठाइरहेकाले दरबार र नायव महारानी त्यसबेला चिन्तामा डुबेका थिए ।^{१६}

दरबारमा नक्सलाई भित्र्याउने कुरामा एक मत नबनेकाले कुनै निश्चित कार्यक्रम बनेको थिएन । सीमाक्षेत्रबाट २४ मार्चमा, नक्स काठमाण्डौँ जाने तय भएपछि बृटवलका राजा र गजराज मिश्रलाई अगाडि सारेर भारदारहरू नक्सको क्याम्पमा भेट्न पुगे । सोही दिन लक्ष्मण शाह (बम शाहका छोरा), करवीर पाँडे (दामोदर पाँडेका जेठा छोरा) र कृष्णजंगसिंह बस्नेत (इन्द्रवीर बस्नेतका छोरा) हरूलाई नेपालका राजाको पत्रका साथ पटना पठाइने भयो । लक्ष्मण शाह र करवीर पाँडे १७ वर्षका थिए भने कृष्णजंग सिंह बस्नेत १४ वर्षका मात्र थिए । लक्ष्मण शाहलाई कम्पनीले मासिक ५००/- रुपियाँ र करवीर पाँडे र कृष्णजंगसिंह बस्नेतलाई ४००/- रुपियाँ दिइने भयो । कम्पनीकै खर्चमा निकै सन्मानका साथ तिनीहरूलाई पटनामा राखियो र सन्धि भंग भएपछि मात्र नेपाल आउन दिइएको थियो । गभर्नर जनरलप्रति आदर दर्शाउन पाल्पाका राजालाई पनि उनीहरूसँग पटना पठाइयो । नक्सले आफैमाफर्त मौलवी अब्दुल कादिरलाई पनि ती

व्यक्तिहरूलाई निर्देशन दिनका निमित्त सँगै पठाइयो । सोही समय जेठी महारानी बनारस छोडेर नेपाली सीमामा आइपुगेको खबरले नेपाली प्रतिनिधि मण्डलमाथि संकट थप्न गयो । बम शाहले अन्य प्रतिनिधिहरूलाई नक्सको सवारी चलाउन आदेश दिएर महारानीसँगको मामलामा केही छलफल गरेपछि काठमाडौँका लागि प्रस्थान गरे । काठमाण्डौँमा आफ्ना समर्थकहरूलाई रिहा नगरेसम्म दामोदर पाँडे काठमाण्डौँ फर्कन चाहिनन् । काठमाण्डौँ पुगेका नक्सले दामोदर पाँडे, बम शाह र गजराज मिश्रहरूलाई तत्कालीन काजी परिषद्का परिस्कृत व्यक्तित्वहरूका रूपमा लिए । कुनै राजनैतिक भ्रष्टाचारमा नमुछिएका, कुनै नेपालीले पनि शङ्का नगरेका, इमान्दार र चारित्रिक गुण भएका तिनीहरूलाई कम्पनीले भत्ता दिएर राख्ने प्रस्ताव पनि नक्सले अघि सारेकोमा, तिनीहरूले आफ्नो मुलुकको गौरव र उच्चताको ख्याल गरी त्यसलाई नामन्जुर गरे । कम्पनीसँगको सन्धिपछि नुवाकोट भैरवी स्थानमा दामोदर पाँडले अर्को घण्टा चढाए । उक्त घण्टाको अभिलेखमा वि.स. १८५८ आषाढमा आफ्ना छोराहरू क्रमशः करवीर पाँडे, रणजंग पाँडे, रणदल पाँडे, कीर्तिबम पाँडे, ललितबम पाँडे र श्रीमती अयोध्यादेवी सहितले घण्टा चढाएको उल्लेख छ । दामोदर पाँडेका छोराहरूको यसमा दिएको नाम र भीमबहादुर पाँडले "राष्ट्रभक्तिको भलक" मा दिएका नामहरूमा अलि फरक देखिन्छ (हेनुहोस् पृ. २५४) । युद्धको क्षेत्रमा अत्यन्त व्यस्त रहने उनले रचनात्मक कार्यतिर खासै ध्यान दिन सकेका थिएनन् । तर राजपरिवारबाट गरिने रचनात्मक र धार्मिक कार्यहरूमा भने उनको नाम पनि समावेश भएको छ । जस्तै वि.सं. १८५४ मा महारानी कान्तवतीले बदरीनाथलाई जमीन चढाएर गरिदिएको लालमोहरमा दामोदर पाँडेको नाम उल्लेख भएको छ ।^{१७}

सन्धिपछि भारदारहरूको विरोधका कारण दामोदर पाँडेको गुट अप्रिय भएकाले काजी अमर सिंह थापा प्रथम समेतको बख्तावरसिंह बस्नेतको गुटले दरबारमा नेतृत्व लियो । नायव महारानी सुवर्णप्रभाको समर्थन पाई सन्धिका समर्थकहरूले नक्सको स्वागत गरी उत्सवहरू पनि मनाए । नोभेम्बर १७, सन् १८०२ मा नायव महारानीद्वारा सन्धि अनुमोदित पनि भयो । अंग्रेजसँग मिली सुवर्णप्रभा गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाहको ठाउँमा आफ्नो छोरा रणोद्योत शाहलाई राजगद्दीमा राख्न चाहन्थन् ।^{१८} जेठी महारानीको काठमाण्डौँतिर बढ्ने प्रयास भइरहेको बेला, सुवर्णप्रभालाई नक्ससँग सम्बन्ध बढाउनु अनिवार्य हुन गयो । जेठी महारानीप्रतिको उनको नीतिनले गर्दा उनी र उनको गुट जनता र सेना समक्ष राजधानीमा दिनप्रतिदिन अप्रिय बन्दै गए ।

दामोदर पाँडेको सफलता- मुलकाजीका रूपमा

भारतीय भूमिबाट नेपाली सीमामा उत्रेकी जेठी महारानी राजराजेश्वरीको उद्देश्यवार इतिहासकारहरूमा मतभिन्नता छ । रणबहादुर शाहको खर्चिलो व्यवहार र सुरासुन्दरीहरूसँगको सम्पर्कबाट वाक्क भएकी जेठी महारानी नेपालमा फर्केकी हुन् भन्ने एकथरीको र रणबहादुर शाहले नै कूटनीतिको चाल स्वरूप उनलाई बिस्तारै नेपालतिर पठाएका हुन् भन्ने अर्को थरीको विचार इतिहासमा पाइन्छ । जे जस्तो भए

पनि जेठी महारानीलाई नेपाल पस्न धेरै संघर्ष गर्नु परेको थियो । नक्सलाई काठमाण्डौमा भित्र्याउने शिलशिलामा उनलाई सीमा क्षेत्रमा नै रोक्नु परेको थियो । बमशाह र गजराज मिश्र उनलाई सीमा क्षेत्रमा नै रोकी नेपालभित्र छिर्न नदिने पक्षमा थिए । तर दामोदर पाँडे उनलाई राजसहायक बनाई प्रशासनमा स्थिरता ल्याउन चाहन्थे । गजराज मिश्र र बमशाह वि.सं. १८५८ को सन्धि चाँडो अनुमोदन गरी कार्यान्वयन गर्ने पक्षमा भएकाले, जेठी महारानीलाई सम्झाई बुझाई भारततर्फ नै फर्काउने काममा दामोदर पाँडैलाई खटाएर, नक्सका पछि लागी बम शाह काठमाण्डौ गए । रणबहादुर शाहलाई दिइने भत्ता ब्रिटिश इण्डियाको माध्यमबाट नभई सिधै नेपालबाट पठाउनु पर्छ भन्ने कुरामा सन्धि समर्थक भारदारहरूको रायसँग नक्सको राय मिलेको थिएन । यसैबेला जेठी महारानीको नेपाल सीमा क्षेत्रमा प्रवेश गर्ने हठ पनि छुटेको थिएन । त्यसैले सुवर्णप्रभाले तयार राजराजेश्वरीलाई मनाउने जिम्मा आफ्नो प्रस्तावसहित नक्सलाई लगाइन् । राजराजेश्वरी पटनामा गएर बसेमा उनी र उनका पछि लागी गएकाहरूलाई त्यहाँ रहन घर र तिनीहरूको जागिरको व्यवस्था गर्ने र जेठी महारानीको निमित्त भत्ता स्वरूप १६,०००/- रुपियाँ भत्ता दिने प्रस्ताव सुवर्णप्रभाको थियो । नक्सले आफ्ना सल्लाहकार मेहदी मिर्जामार्फत् उक्त प्रस्ताव दिई राजराजेश्वरी कहाँ पठाउँदा उनले सो प्रस्तावलाई साफ इन्कार गरी अगाडि बढ्ने प्रण देखाइन् । त्यसबेला जेठी महारानीको दयनीय अवस्थामाथि मिर्जालाई पनि दया आयो र उनलाई पछि धकेल्नुको सट्टा अगाडि बढ्नमा उनले सहयोग गरे । जेठी महारानी साहसका साथ सिमानाभित्र प्रवेश गरेपछि उनलाई धकेल्नु सुवर्णप्रभालाई अति आवश्यक भयो । त्यसैबेला उनलाई थामथुम पारी फर्काउन सुवर्णप्रभाले फेरी दामोदर पाँडेसँग नै गुहार माग्न पुगिन् । यसपल्ट उनलाई मनाउने कुरामा सुवर्णप्रभाले पहिलेकै प्रस्तावलाई (मेहदी मिर्जा मार्फत् पठाइएको) अगाडि सारिन् ।^{१९}

नायव महारानीको आदेश पाएर दामोदर पाँडे थानकोटमा जेठी महारानीलाई भेट्न भनी अघि बढे । त्यहाँ महारानीसँग उनको कुराकानी चल्यै थियो । सायद जेठी महारानीले काठमाण्डौ फर्कने हौसला पनि दामोदर पाँडेबाट पाएकी थिइन् ।^{२०} त्यसबेला सुबुद्धि खड्काले राज्यको टुक्रटी सोरेर निव्वन्तरि भागेको समाचारले सुवर्णप्रभा हतास भइन् । बख्तावरसिंह बस्नेत कमजोर प्रशासक थिए भने तत्कालीन काजीहरू अवसरवादी थिए । त्यसैले निराश भएर सुवर्णप्रभाले सरकारी मानिसहरू र राजालाई समेत लिएर बनारस जाने मनसायबाट पशुपति प्रस्थान गरिन् । यो खबर पाएपछि दामोदर पाँडैलाई जेठी महारानीतिर श्रद्धा जनाई अघि बढ्न कुनै मुश्किल परेन । उनले स्वयम्भूको कीमडोलमा महारानीलाई ल्याएर राखे । त्यसपछि ठूलो वाजागाजाका साथ भारदारहरू र जनताद्वारा स्वागत गराएर उनलाई दरबारमा प्रवेश गराए । उक्त जमातले वालक राजालाई पनि तत्काल पशुपतिबाट ल्याएर उनैलाई सुम्पिदिए । यो रक्तपात विहीन क्रान्तिबाट सबै कुरा यथावत नै चल्यो । केवल राजसहायकको मात्र परिवर्तन भएको थियो । दामोदर पाँडेकै कूटनीतिबाट सुवर्णप्रभालाई पनि पशुपतिबाट दरबारमा ल्याई मिलिजुली काम गराउने नीति

अपनाई राज्यको वागडोर आफ्नो हातमा पुनः आएपछि जेठी महारानीले दामोदर पाँडैलाई मूलकाजीमा नियुक्त गरिन् । शासन उनकै निर्देशनअनुसार चल्यो । त्यसबेलादेखि मुख्यकाजीको सिफारिसमा आफ्ना समर्थकहरूलाई सरकारमा नियुक्त गर्ने परम्परा चल्यो । त्यसैले उनलाई नेपालका प्रथम प्रधानमन्त्री भन्ने गरिन्छ ।^{२१} Bikramjit Hasrat, Asad Husain, H.A. Oldfield आदि इतिहासकारहरूको लेखाईमा उनी मुख्य मन्त्री थिए । नक्सले सुवर्णप्रभासँग मिलेर राजनीतिमा हस्तक्षेप गर्न थाले पछि जेठी महारानी र दामोदर पाँडैलाई यो मन परेन । राजराजेश्वरीले भारदारी सभा विघटन गरिन् र नयाँ गठन भएको भारदारी सभामा मुख्य चौतरा विदुर शाही भए । मुख्यकाजी दामोदर पाँडे र बख्तावरसिंह बस्नेत, बलवन्त र नरसिंह गुरुङ आदि काजी पदमा बहाल रहे । वि.सं. १८६० श्रावण ५ गते सुवर्णप्रभा र बम शाह कैदमा परे । केही दिनपछि बख्तावर सिंह बस्नेत पनि कैदमा परे र नक्सलाई पनि काठमाण्डौमा हैजा चलेको छ भन्ने बहाना गरी मकवानपुरमा बस्ने आदेश दिइयो । सुवर्णप्रभाका पक्षधरहरूले राजराजेश्वरीलाई पदच्युत गरी शासनको वागडोर पुनः उनलाई दिने हो कि भन्ने शंकामा राजराजेश्वरीले यो कदम उठाएको अनुमान गरिएको छ ।^{२२}

नेपालको राजनीतिमा हस्तक्षेप गर्न नपाएपछि राजदूत नक्स दामोदर पाँडेदेखि चिडिए । रणबहादुर शाहको भत्ता मोरङ र विजयपुरको जागीरबाट पठाउनु पर्ने समयमा नपठाएकाले नक्सले ताकिता गर्दै थिए ।^{२३} भारदारी सभामा स्थान नपाएका चौतरिया शेरबहादुर शाही जस्तै अन्य भारदारहरू दामोदर पाँडेदेखि चिडिएका थिए । अंग्रेज व्यापारी मिष्टर त्वाएड र मिष्टर प्रोक्टर नेपालमा प्रवेश गर्न राहदानीको माग गर्दै थिए तर समयमा नेपाल सरकारबाट त्यसको स्वीकृति भएन । मूलकाजी र नायव महारानी सन् १८०१ को सन्धिलाई कायमै राखी, रणबहादुर शाहलाई बनारसमै रोकी राख्न सकेमा शान्तिसँग नेपालको प्रशासन चलाउन सकिन्छ भन्ने विचारमा थिए । रणबहादुर शाहको उद्दण्ड स्वभाव दामोदर पाँडैले राम्ररी बुझेका थिए । त्यसैले सन्धिको विरोध गर्ने धेरै भारदारहरू, अमरसिंह थापा, रणजीत पाँडे र त्रिभुवन खवास आदिलाई उनले हनुमानढोका, चारखालमा नजरबन्द गरी राखेको कुरा नक्सले गभर्नर जनरललाई लेखेको पत्रमा उल्लेख छ । रणबहादुर शाहलाई बनारसमा रोक्ने उद्देश्यले आफ्ना एक मित्रलाई दामोदर पाँडैले पत्राचार गरेका थिए । तर सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिको गलतिले गर्दा उक्त पत्र रणबहादुर शाहको हातमा पर्न गयो भन्ने कुरा नेपालमा सुनिएको थियो ।^{२४} नेपालको प्रशासनमा स्थान नपाएका धेरै भारदारहरू बनारसमा रणबहादुर शाहसँग मिल्न पुगेकाले दामोदर पाँडेको पक्ष कमजोर हुन गयो ।

कम्पनीले बनारसमा रणबहादुर शाहमाथि लगानी गरेको सबै रकम समयमा चुक्ता नगरेमा नक्सले नेपाल छोड्ने भन्ने दिएको धम्कीअनुसार, वि.सं. १८६० मा नेपाल छोडेर उनी कलकत्ता पुगे । नक्सलाई त्यहाँ पनि रणबहादुर शाहले आफ्नो पक्षमा लिने असफल प्रयास गरे । नक्स फर्की सकेपछि पनि रणबहादुर शाहको किस्ता नेपालले चुक्ता गरेर सन् १८०१ को सन्धिलाई कायम राख्न नेपाल इच्छुक छ

भन्ने आशयको पत्र गजराज मिश्रमार्फत् अंग्रेजलाई पठाएको थियो । तर राजदूतलाई फिर्ता पठाउने कुरामा कम्पनी सरकार राजी भएन । दरबारमा भएको चर्को विवादको कारण नेपालले सन्धिलाई कार्यान्वयन गर्न सक्छ भन्ने कुरामा उनीहरू विश्वस्त भएनन् । 'आफूले चाहेजस्तो गर्न नपाइने र धेरै संकटको सामना गर्नु पर्ने' भन्ने नक्सले दिएको रिपोर्टको आधारमा आफ्नो खर्च पिटाएर रणबहादुर शाहलाई बनारसमा राखी रहनु पर्ने आवश्यकता कम्पनी सरकारले देखेन । त्यसैले गभर्नर जनरल वेलेस्लीले जनवरी, सन् १८०४ मा सन् १८०१ को वाणिज्य सन्धि भंग भएको औपचारिक घोषणा गरी रणबहादुर शाहलाई आफ्नो निगरानीबाट मुक्त गरे । तत्कालीन नेपाल सरकारदेखि रिसाएका कम्पनी सरकार, रणबहादुर शाह नेपाल फर्केपछि ठूलो रक्तपात मचाउने छन्, भन्ने सुइको पाएर कलकत्ताबाट त्यसको मज्जा हेर्ने अपेक्षामा थियो ।^{३४}

बनारसमा कम्पनीको बन्धनबाट मुक्त भइसकेपछि रणबहादुर शाह आफ्ना समर्थकहरूका साथ काठमाण्डौ फर्कने तयारीमा लागे । दामोदर पाँडेको हातबाट नेपालको प्रशासनको बागडोर खोसेर लिने उद्योगमा भीमसेन थापा बनारसमा सूत्रधारको रूपमा अग्रसर भईरहेका थिए । उक्त योजनाअनुसार वर्तमान भारदारी सभा विघटन गरी भीमसेन थापा प्रधानमन्त्री, रङ्गनाथ गुरुजुलाई राजगुरु, दलमञ्जन पाँडे र रणजीत पाँडे, त्रिभुवन खवास, चौतरिया शेरबहादुर शाही आदि खोसुवामा परेकाहरूलाई पनि भारदारीमा सम्मिलित गराउने थियो । काठमाण्डौमा सजधजका साथ फर्कने खर्चको व्यवस्था पनि रङ्गनाथ पण्डितको प्रयासबाट भइसकेको थियो ।^{३५}

रणबहादुर शाह नेपाल फर्कने भएपछि बाटो खर्चको व्यवस्था गरी नेपाल सरकारले उनलाई काठमाण्डौमा भित्र्याउने र पछि निगरानीमा राख्ने निर्णय गर्‍यो । यो काम कम जोखिमपूर्ण थिएन । तैपनि दामोदर पाँडे यसको जिम्मा आफ्नै काँधमा लिन तयार भए । सन्त्यस लिईसकेका स्वामीज्यूलाई काठमाण्डौमा भित्र्याउन नमिल्ने भएकाले हाललाई शहर बाहिर भद्रकाली मन्दिरको नजिक टुँडिखेलमा पाल टाँगेर राख्ने व्यवस्था गरियो । स्वामीज्यूबाट भद्रकालीको पूजा गराउनका लागि पनि पूजा सामग्री तयार गरिएको थियो । स्वामिज्यूलाई आदरपूर्वक स्वागत सत्कार गरी त्यसपछि नजरबन्द गरी काठमाण्डौमा भित्र्याउने उद्देश्यले नरसिंह गुरुङको नेतृत्वमा एक सैनिक दल खटिई सकेको थियो । स्वामिज्यूले माग गरेअनुसार सीमा क्षेत्रसम्मको सुरक्षाको निमित्त कम्पनी सरकारतर्फबाट खटाइएका केही पुलिसहरूका साथ रणबहादुर शाहलाई आईरहेको टाढैबाट देखेपछि नरसिंह गुरुङलाई रणबहादुर शाह कम्पनी सरकारसँग मिलीसकेको भान भएछ र उनले आफ्नो सुरक्षाका खातिर रणबहादुर शाहसँग मिल्नुमा नै श्रेयस्कर देखे ।

दामोदर पाँडेको पतन-साठी साल पर्व

कार्यक्रमअनुसार फागुन २१ गते दामोदर पाँडे र प्रवल राना सेनाका साथ थानकोट पुग्दा उनीहरूले त्यहाँ पासा पल्टिसकेको देखे । सेनाको अग्रपंक्तिमा रहेका दामोदर पाँडैलाई परैबाट देखेपछि एक क्षण त रणबहादुर शाह नतमस्तक भए र उनको अनुहारको रंग उड्यो । तत्काल भीमसेन थापाको सल्लाहअनुसार उनले निडर भई

सेना र जनता समक्ष ठूलो स्वरले "तिमीहरू मेरो पक्षमा हुन्छौ कि दामोदर पाँडेको पक्षमा ..." भनेर सम्बोधन गरे । तिनीहरूबाट रणबहादुर शाहको पक्षमा हुने संकेत पाएपछि, दामोदर पाँडे, उनका छोरा र प्रवल राना पक्राउमा परे । केही दिन पछि रणबहादुर शाहको आदेशपत्रको आधारमा दामोदर पाँडे र उनका छोरालाई जल्लादद्वारा बध गर्न लगाए ।^{३६} फौजका साथ दामोदर पाँडे थानकोटमा पुग्दा फौजले उल्टो रणबहादुर शाहको स्वागत गरेपछि भागेका दामोदर पाँडैलाई फौजले लखेटेर भद्रकालीनिर काटे भनी गलत उल्लेख पनि कता कतै भएको पाइन्छ । भीमसेन थापाको शासनको अन्ततिर नुवाकोटका धामीले राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहलाई बुझाएको रिपोर्टमा उल्लेख भएअनुसार, बनारसबाट काठमाण्डौतिर अघि बढिरहेका रणबहादुर शाहलाई छेक्न गएका दामोदर पाँडे र प्रवल रानालाई शेरबहादुर शाही आफ्नो साथमा भएकाले रणबहादुर शाहले फौजलाई हुकुम दिई त्यहाँदेखि तिनीहरूलाई बाँधी ल्याए । जेठी महारानीलाई हेलम्बुमा धपाई दिएपछि पूर्व सरकारद्वारा काठमाण्डौमा कैद गरिएका सबैलाई मुक्त गरियो । त्यसको २०१५ दिनपछि भारदारहरूलाई काट्न शुरु गरे । त्यसमा पहिलो शिकार दामोदर पाँडे र उनका छोराहरू— रणकेशर र गजकेशर भए । काजी भीम खवास, सरदार इन्द्रमान खत्री, द्वारे सपनसिंह, सुवेदार शंखधर, मानधन जम्मा आठजना उक्त घटनामा काटिए । भीम खवासका एक छोरालाई उँधोमुण्टो गरी भुण्ड्याए भने उनको अर्को छोराको आँखा फ्रिक्तियो । अर्को श्रोतअनुसार दामोदर पाँडे, उनका छोरा रणकेशर पाँडे, उनका पक्षमा मिलेका काजी भीम मुखिया, भारदार इन्द्र, सरदार सप सिंह दुओ (दुवाल) जम्मा पाँचजना मारिए । दुईजनाको आँखा फ्रिक्तियो, एकजना उँधोमुण्टो पारी भुण्ड्याइयो ।^{३७} दामोदर पाँडेको वि.सं. १८५८ को नुवाकोट भैरवीस्थानको घण्टाको अभिलेखमा रणकेशर पाँडेको नाम उल्लेख नभएको र पाँडेवंशावलीमा भने सो नाम उल्लेख भएकाले यहाँ निर अलि अन्योल देखिन्छ ।

सुन्दरानन्दको लेखाईमा— रणबहादुर शाह बनारसबाट फर्केर लुमडीमा रहँदा शङ्ख लागेका, लुकेर बसेका तथा भागेकाहरूलाई समात्ने काम भयो । उनको दरबारमा प्रवेशपछि, उनलाई काशीमा रोक्ने तथा काशीबाट फर्कदा बाटो छेक्नेहरूमा को को पर्छन् भन्ने निर्णय गर्न ६ थरघरका र बस्नेत, थापा, खड्काहरूलगायत सभासद भएको भारदारी गरे । दोषी ठहरेकाहरूलाई दिइएको दण्डबारे त्यसमा उल्लेख भएको छ । तर दामोदर पाँडे, उनका छोरा र समर्थकहरूले पाएको सजायबारे चाहिँ उल्लेख छैन । ग्रन्थ लामो हुने भएकोले तिनीहरूको सजायबारेमा विस्तार नगरेको भनी लेखे तापनि, त्यसबेला रणजङ पाँडेको शक्ति बढीसकेकाले लेखक माथि उनको कुदृष्टि नपरोस् भनी त्यसरी खुलासा नगरेको अड्कल पनि कुनै कुनै इतिहासकारहरूले गरेका छन् ।^{३८}

लुमडीको सत्तलको छिडीमा कैदी अवस्थामा रहँदा दामोदर पाँडैलाई उनका साथी प्रवल रानाले ज्यान जोगाउन दुवैजनाले भागनु पर्ने प्रस्ताव राख्दा उनले साफ इन्कार गरे । आफ्नो ज्यान जोगाउन अरुको आश्रय माग्न जाँदा, आफ्ना गौरवशाली पुराँको समेत नाममा धब्बा लाग्ने भएकोले त्यसो नगर्ने उनले आफ्नो विचार

पोखे । त्यसपछि प्रवल राना मात्र भागेर ज्यान जोगाउन सफल भए । उनी भागेपछि त्यसको असर दामोदर पाँडेमाथि परेर उनीमाथि लगाइएको निगरानी अझ कठोर हुन गयो । दामोदर पाँडे जीवित भएसम्म प्रशासनमा पूर्णरूपले कब्जा जमाउन नसक्ने भएकाले तत्कालीन भारदारी सभाले उनलाई काट्नु पर्ने ठहर गर्‍यो । उनलाई टाढा लगेर काटिदा फौजलाई थाहा भएर भड्किने डर भएकाले लुमडी नजिकैको मसानघाट (हाल राष्ट्रिय समाचार समितिको भवन बनेको स्थान) मा चैत्र ३ गते काट्न लगाइयो । उनका छोरा र अन्य समर्थकहरूलाई विष्णुमतीमा काट्न लगाइयो । दामोदर पाँडेका अन्य छोराहरू— करवीर पाँडे, रणजंग पाँडे र नानीहरू भाग्न सफल भए । दामोदर पाँडेका अवलाहरू काठमाण्डौबाट निकालिए र तिनीहरूको सर्वस्व हरण पनि भयो । उनका एक छोरा कुमाऊँका हाकिम भएर वसेकोमा, अमरसिंह थापाले नेल हतकडीसमेत लगाई काठमाण्डौ पठाउँदा सो कष्ट सहन नसकी बाटैमा उनको अन्त भयो ।^{१०} तर यिनी कुनचाहिँ छोरा थिए भनी एकीन गर्न बाँकी नै छ ।

दामोदर पाँडेसँगै वि.सं. १८६० सालमा उनका धेरै समर्थकहरूले पनि रणबहादुर शाहको कोपभाजनको शिकार बन्नु पर्‍यो । आफुले तयार गरेको योजनामा आफ्नै सहपाठीहरूको असमझदारीपना, चौतरा र काजीहरू (पदबाट बरखास्त भएका) को भित्री पडयन्त्र, आफ्नै सगोत्र भाइ-भतिजाहरू पनि विरोधी पक्षमा सामेल भई दिँदा र थापाहरूको जालभेलमा लागेर रणबहादुर शाहले सत्ता पुनः हत्याउन हुने नहुने मार्ग अपनाएकाले दामोदर पाँडेको भयानक अन्त हुन गयो । रणबहादुर शाहका अनेक चारित्रिक दुर्गुणहरूका कारण घटन गएको यो वि.सं. १८६० सालको पर्वको प्रमुख कारण भने, थापाहरूको रणबहादुर शाहलाई अग्रसर गराएर प्रशासनमा उच्चता हासिल गर्ने महत्त्वाकांक्षालाई नै लिन सकिन्छ । अनेकौँ जोखिमपूर्ण युद्धहरूमा भाग लिएर मुलुकको सुरक्षा गर्नमा ज्यानको पर्वाह नगर्ने काजी दामोदर पाँडेमाथि व्यक्तिगत रिसराग नराखी, आफ्ना समर्थकहरूको बहकाऊमा नलागी रणबहादुर शाहले उनलाई नकटाई जोगाई राखेको भए, सायद वि.सं. १८६३ सालको घटना घटने थिएन होला । १९ औं शताब्दीको शुरूमा पाँडेहरू (काला पाँडे) धेरै शक्तिशाली थिए । भीमसेन थापाले उनी र उनको शक्तिशाली परिवारलाई तहसनहस पारेर शक्ति हत्याउन सफल भए । पाँडेहरूलाई कटाएर, निर्वासित गराएर, सम्पत्ति जफत गरेर सर्वेसर्वा बन्न पुगेका भीमसेन थापाले तीन दशकपछि त्यसको पूरै हिसाब चुक्ता गर्नुपर्‍यो । उनको कारण तीस वर्षसम्म पाँडेहरूले आफूलाई विस्थापित गर्ने साहस गर्न सकेनन् ।^{११} तीन दशकको समयसम्म “बापवैरी साधने” प्रयासमा लागेका रणजंग पाँडेले वि.सं. १८९१ मा अकस्मात देखापरेर गुमेको पारिवारिक प्रतिष्ठा र अधिकारको निमित्त राजामा निवेदन चढाए । जेठी महारानी साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी देवी पनि उनकै पक्षमा भएकाले उनको समर्थन पाएर राजनीतिमा तहल्का मचाए । वि.सं. १८९४ मा औपचारिक रूपले आफ्ना पिताको मातहतमा रहेको भूमि र प्रतिष्ठालाई रणजंग पाँडेले प्राप्त गरे । बाबुको प्रतिष्ठाका कारण वि.सं. १८९४ को शुरूमा उनी कमाण्डर—इन—चीफ बने, रणदल पाँडे पाल्पाका गभर्नर बने र करवीर

पाँडे राजाका बस्त्र भण्डारमा हर्ताकर्ता बने । वि.सं. १८९६ मा मूलकाजी बनेका रणजंग पाँडेले भीमसेन थापाको दर्दनाक पतन गराएर पिताको हत्याको बदला लिए ।^{१२}

साठीसाल पर्वपछि भीमसेन थापाको लामो शासनकालभरि दामोदर पाँडेको योगदानका सबै कुरा दबेर बसे । त्यसलाई उजागर गर्ने प्रयास र साहस समेत कसैले नगरेर त्यसो गर्नु खतरा उठाउनु हो भन्ने महसूस मात्र गरे । भीमसेन थापाको एकछत्र शासन अवधिभित्र राजा, राजसहायक र मुख्तियारको बारेमा मात्र गुणगान गर्ने, इतिहास लेख्ने-लेखाउने परीपाटी भएकोले ‘अंग्रेजसँग सन्धि गर्ने, रणबहादुर शाहलाई बनारसमै रोकी राख्ने प्रयासमा लागेका’ भनी अभियोग लगाएर कटाइएका दामोदर पाँडेबारे लेख्ने साहस त्यसवेला कसमा थियो होला ? तर दामोदर पाँडेको एकलो प्रयासबाट मात्र त्यसवेला अंग्रेजसँग नेपालको बाणिज्य सन्धि भएको थिएन । देशमा उत्पात मचाएर आफ्नै छोराको वैधानिक सरकारलाई हाँक दिएर गरेको प्रयास असफल भएपछि अंग्रेजी भूमिमा गएर उनीहरूकै सहयोगबाट नेपालमा फर्केर पुनः सत्ता हत्याउन खोज्ने रणबहादुर शाहको नियतलाई नेपालका भारदारहरूले समर्थन गरेनन् । सन्धिको हर्ताकर्ता बनेका गजराज मिश्र, सन्धिपछि नेपाल र अंग्रेज कम्पनी सरकार दुवैतिरबाट फाइदा उठाउन चाहन्थे । अंग्रेजकै सहायताबाट नायब महारानी सुवर्णप्रभा पनि आफ्ना छोरा रणोद्योत शाहलाई गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाहको स्थानमा राजा घोषित गर्न चाहन्थिन् । स्वयम् अंग्रेजहरूले पनि रणबहादुर शाहलाई विश्वास नगरी नेपाल सरकारको सहायता गरेर त्यसबाट तिब्बत र चीनसँगको व्यापार पारवहन सुविधा प्राप्त गर्न चाहन्थे । रणबहादुर शाहकै बनारस पलायनबाट नेपालमा उक्त परिस्थितिको सृजना भयो, कि त्यसवेला नेपालसँग दुइवटा विकल्पहरू मात्र रहन गए । ती हुन् १. नेपालसँग अंग्रेज कम्पनी सरकारले जोडन खोजेको दौत्य सम्बन्धलाई नेपाल सरकारले वेवास्ता गरी उनीहरूकै सहयोगबाट रणबहादुर शाहलाई नेपालमा पस्न दिने या २. नेपालले अंग्रेज कम्पनी सरकारसँग बाणिज्य सन्धि गरी तीर्थवास गएका रणबहादुर शाहलाई नेपालको शान्ति सुरक्षा खातिर तीर्थमै राखेर उनको जीविकाको व्यवस्था गर्ने । देशमाथि पर्न आउने भावी खतराको विचार गरेर दामोदर पाँडेका पक्षधर या तत्कालीन सरकारले दोश्रो विकल्पलाई रोजे । परिस्थितिको मागअनुसार देशको शान्ति सुव्यवस्थाको निमित्त नेपालले विदेशीको मुख ताक्ने गरेको (चीन या भारतसँग मद्दत मान्ने गरेको) इतिहास नौलो थिएन ।^{१३} राजनैतिक परिस्थितिको शिकार बनेका दामोदर पाँडेको देश सेवाको अर्थ विपक्षीले गलत किसिमबाट लगाउँदा त्यसको मूल्य चुकाउन उनले ज्यानै दिनुपर्‍यो । त्यसपछि दामोदर पाँडेलाई सम्झना गराउने कुनै प्रयास देशभित्र र बाहिर पनि भएको देखिँदैन । रणजंग पाँडेको छोटो शासनकालमा पनि त्यसतर्फ धेरै ध्यान दिन सकेको देखिँदैन । काठमाण्डौको असनचोकमा निर्मित ज्वालामाई मन्दिरभित्र दामोदर पाँडे र उनकी श्रीमतीको शालिक राखिएको छ । करीव डेढफुट उँचाईको उक्त ढुंगाको शालिकको पादपीठमा “श्री काजी दामोदर पाँडे श्री अयोध्यादेवी” लेखिएको छ । स्थानीयवासीहरू उक्त मन्दिरलाई पाँडेहरूको मन्दिर

पनि भन्दा रहेछन् । करवीर पाँडेको प्रयासबाट उक्त सालिक राखिएको देखिन्छ तर त्यसबारे भने धेरैलाई थाहा नभएको बुझियो ।

दामोदर पाँडेपछि, कोतपर्वसम्म क्याप्टेन, कपर्दार र काजी पदमा समेत सेवारत पाँडे परिवारबाट पनि उनीबारे केही पनि प्रचार प्रसार भएको देखिदैन । “देशभक्ति दण्डित हुने भीम मल्ल र भीमसेन थापाका कथाव्यथाहरूको अभिशप्त इतिहासबाट हामी नेपालीले कहिले गएर छुटकारा पाउने हौं ?” भन्ने पूर्व प्रधानमन्त्री कृष्णप्रसाद भट्टराई जस्तै शीर्षस्थ नेताहरूका देशभक्तहरूको उल्लेख भएको भाषणमा, काजी दामोदर पाँडेको नाम पनि समावेश हुनु पर्नेमा त्यसो भएको छैन । के अहिले पनि उनलाई ओभेलमा राख्नु ठीक होला ? आज सामाजिक, शैक्षिक र राजनैतिक क्षेत्रमा राष्ट्रिय स्तरबाट गरिने प्रयासहरूका फलस्वरूप दामोदर पाँडेका योगदानहरू प्रकाशमा आउन सके, उनको विवादपूर्ण राजनैतिक जीवनमा नयाँ दृष्टिकोण थपिन जाने विश्वास गर्न सकिन्छ । त्यसपछि मात्र उनले राष्ट्रका निमित्त गरेको योगदानको कदर सबै पक्षले गरेको मानेर उनको सैनिक जीवनजस्तै राजनैतिक जीवन पनि स्वच्छ बन्ने छ भन्ने कुरामा दुईमत नहोला ।

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श्री ज्वालामाईको मन्दिरभित्रको दामोदर पाँडे दम्पतिको सालिक

Review Article

Whelpton, John. 2005. *A History of Nepal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 0-521-80470-1 (paperback); 0-521-80026-9 (hardback). Price: £ 15.99 (paperback); £ 40.00 (hardback); NRs. 600.00 (South Asian Edition), pp. 296

John Whelpton is the editor and translator of an extraordinarily interesting book, *Jang Bahadur in Europe*, published in 1983, which depicts the first Rana prime minister's 1850 visit to Britain and France (*Belait-yatra*). As is well known, this journey provided for the first time an opportunity and occasion for face-to-face contact in a fully European atmosphere between the governing elites of two European countries and those of Nepal. It had a deep impact on the friendly policy demonstrated towards Britain in India by Nepal during the second half of the nineteenth century, especially during the Indian Mutiny, and the beginning of the twentieth century. Jang's visit to Europe also had its effect on the internal scene: among the results was the introduction of some European elements into the Nepalese legal system, as well as to the local palace architecture. In other words, this journey is an important date in the overall process of the Westernization of the Himalayan kingdom, a process that continues in train to this very day, and one with incalculable consequences. What is more, as far as I know, the *Belait-yatra* is the first travel account not written by a European about Nepal, but by a Nepalese about Europe. Such a reversal of perspective, and one of such relative antiquity, is extremely significant. Few texts of this type have reached us from Asian countries. Admittedly, the Nepalese manuscript is brief, and does not contain much detail; but it does give us a chance to understand how high-status Nepalese officials of that time regarded Western countries. The impression made by the West went so deep, indeed, that Jang Bahadur considered staying on there for at least some years, and thus abdicating his power in Nepal.

Whelpton now lives in Hong Kong, but is still involved in Nepalese studies. Despite its title, his new book, *A History of Nepal*, focuses mainly on modern and contemporary Nepal, the country built up by the Shah dynasty from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards¹. Only four pages are devoted to the history of Nepal Valley in ancient and medieval times. The history of Khasa Malla, centred in the Karnali basin (12–14th centuries), is written in 14 lines (p. 22). A little more space is devoted to the *caubhis* kingdoms of the Gandaki basin, as it was from these petty states that the history of modern Nepal originated and that the leading dynasty of Gorkha emerged in the course of time. On the whole, the history of ancient and medieval Nepal is limited to one chapter (among seven), this chapter

including also general information about the populations of the country and their languages. It is true that Nepal appears as a unified state only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But this is also the case with several other countries, in Europe as well as in Asia. Their history is nevertheless normally traced back to much earlier periods. This peculiar and restrictive approach is not explained in the book.

Chapter 2, which covers the period 1743–1885, is devoted mainly to the unification of the country, the first decades of the nineteenth century, and the establishment of the Rana regime. Of special interest are the pages devoted to the so-called process of the Sanskritization of Nepal. Whelpton shows clearly how the Western tribes (Magars and Gurungs) have been used by the political establishment of the *caubisis* states to consolidate their power and expand their conquests. In exchange, Magars in particular 'could until the eighteenth century be promoted to Chetri status'. The boundary between Magar and Chetri was a fairly fluid one. That explains why many of the clan names, such as Thapa, are equally common among both Chetris and Magars. This seems also to have happened on a lesser scale with the Gurungs: some of them were promoted among the *bharadar* (members of the political elite). It was clearly a time when caste lines were not so hard and fast as today. As far as the Magars are concerned, it is significant that their abandonment of their own language for Nepali had probably been under way since before the Gorkhali conquest.

Unfortunately, the very concept of Sanskritization is not discussed, and it is not extended to other groups, especially among the eastern tribes. No reference is given in this respect to the important article of Rex Jones 'Sanskritisation in Eastern Nepal', *Ethnology* 15-1, 1976. The trend for the Khasas of the Western Hills to adopt the sacred thread and become Chetris with a view to increasing their status is mentioned (p. 57), but not developed. As a matter of fact, this is less a process of Sanskritization (adoption of Brahmanical values) than a process of 'Rajputization', as Indian sociology has made clear. The reader has the impression that Whelpton sees some religious elements, such as the cult of the Masta in the Western hills, as the preservation of an old state, 'an egalitarian counter opposed to the dominant Brahmanical order' (p. 57). In this manner, Sanskritization 'allows' – according to the author – 'local religions to subsist within a Hindu environment'. Such formulations, which are not totally incorrect, need further discussion.

There then follows a chapter (Ch. 3) on Nepal under the Shamsher Ranas (1885–1951), and another one (Ch. 4) entitled 'The monarchy in ascendance' (1951–1991). Up to this point, the book of John Whelpton may be described as very classical political history; it insists mainly on political events, given in chronological order. Nevertheless, from time to time the reader is offered more sociological and broader insights. For instance the Rana regime, like

the Mughal administration, is termed 'patrimonial' instead of 'feudal', because, it is said, the state was organized as an extension of the ruler's household. In Nepal, three features of the Rana political system need to be stressed: the need for personal attendance on the king, the *pajani* under which all appointments were subject to annual review, and the frequent changes in the individual's *jagir*, the land assigned to a state servant in lieu of salary (p. 49). The fall of the Rana regime is also seen in a wide perspective, in which the new Western ideas of democracy, and often also of socialism, transmitted through India, are rightly emphasized. Furthermore, 'The final collapse of the Rana regime had resulted not from a widely based popular movement, but rather from divisions within the political elite and from the policy adopted from the newly independent India' (p. 73).

In my view, the best parts of the book are Chapters 5 and 6. These two chapters could be recommended to all readers interested in the present Nepali crisis. Chapter 5 deals with the economic efforts of the successive governments from 1951 to 1990 to develop the country and raise the standard of living of the Nepalese people. During that period, the formidable increase in the population – 8.5 million in 1954 to 18.5 million in 1991 – has had deep effects on the biological and economic structure of the country. The rise of the population entails deforestation, increases in temporary and permanent emigration, with new destinations becoming more and more popular – the Middle East, Malaysia, and Japan – and changes in the flow of commerce. By the 1980s Nepal had turned from a net exporter to a net importer of food grain. The continuing fragmentation of holdings made it difficult for ordinary peasant families to feed themselves. Therefore the quest for development became a central objective of the State, especially during the Panchayat period (*bikas* developmentalism). Unfortunately, the policy of agricultural development in the hills had very meagre results. Water supplies and latrines have been installed in many villages. But in 1991 it was estimated that 7 to 9 million of the country's 19 million people were unable to obtain their minimum daily calorific requirements.

The same can be said of the regional planning policy: some programmes were implemented efficiently in the country, but economic opportunities remained concentrated mainly in the Kathmandu valley. Despite massive foreign aid, the grip of poverty over most of the country could not be broken. The fact that the kingdom was notoriously under-administered provides a partial explanation of this phenomenon (this factor also explains, in my opinion, the astonishingly rapid spread of the Maoist movement all over the country from 1996 until 2001). Whelpton speaks of the responsibility of the governments themselves – for instance the quarrels between administrations over taking control over foreign aid; but there is nowhere any elaborated

analysis of the corruption and the way part of the elite diverts the aid to its own advantage.

Chapter 6, entitled 'Lifestyles, Values, and Identities', is an essay on changes in Nepalese society between 1951 and 1991. These changes start with the expansion of the education system and the improvements in communication between the different regions of the country and between Nepal and the outside world. They also include many other things, from Westernization of dress (especially among men), to the development of ethnicity movements among the various hill tribes, to an upsurge in ethnic activism, to changes in the caste system, and especially an increase in intercaste marriages. In this connection, Whelpton rightly remarks that the division between pure and impure castes remains important. We learn for instance that it was only in September 2001, following a government declaration on temple access, that a large party of *Dalits* (untouchables) was able to enter Pashupatinath temple unchallenged (p. 155). Yet the new legal dispositions in favour of women (hereditary rights, limited abortion possibilities) are not mentioned, and the progressive feminization of whole sectors of society, especially in urban areas, is an issue not addressed. It is untrue to write that the Maharjan (the Newar farmer caste) now became more likely to choose 'Hindu' as a self-description (p. 155). The recent strengthening of caste identity, on the contrary, has emphasized Buddhism as a crucial component of this caste. The dissemination of egalitarian ideas through diverse channels is alluded to (pp. 173–5), but not systematically explored.

The whole of this penultimate chapter is very rich, owing to the author's personal contacts and intimacy with Nepalese society. Interesting details are given: for instance, the fact that Kings Tribhuvan and Mahendra could both speak some Newar learned from their wet-nurses and other palace servants, and that it is said that they have sometimes used that language between themselves to keep their conversations secret (p. 156).

The last part of the book is a useful chronicle of events from the restoration of democracy in 1990 until the civil war of today. The facts are related in an objective, impartial style that is much to be welcomed in these days of confusion and passion. The decisive role played by India in the sudden collapse of the Panchayat system in April 1990, through its imposition of among other things a semi-blockade of Nepal in March 1989, is mentioned (p. 113). The resulting shortages, particularly of kerosene, caused considerable hardship in Nepal. The failure of the restored democratic parties to tackle the country's economic problems is appropriately stressed, as well as the ambiguous role played by the king in the political arena. The rise of the Maoist movement, supported by a great part of the population until 2002, to the point of being seen as a possible alternative to the present political system, is correctly summarized. Even

though a great part of the Nepalese people do not accept the official version of the Narayan Hiti palace slaughter of 2001, Whelpton rejects all the rumours and conspiracy theories. His account does not differ from those of the palace and the investigation committee. And there are some grounds, after all, for accepting it. First, sordid events of this nature are not altogether a novelty in the court history of the Nepalese kings. Second, passions for firearms and addictions to several varieties of drugs were a feature common to many Indian princely states during the nineteenth century and earlier. Concerning the hostility between Queen Aishwarya and Devyani, the girlfriend of Crown Prince Dipendra, whom he wants to marry, Whelpton suggests that an old rivalry between the Juddha branch of the Ranas, to which both Queen Aishwarya and the queen mother belonged, and the descendants of Chandra Shamsher, Devyani's great-great-grandfather (p. 214), may have played a role. Such family matters, crucial in the high political sphere, are not well known and are of much interest for social scientists (and Nepali citizens).

On the whole, Whelpton's *History of Nepal* is a valuable introduction to that country. It will be useful to all non-Nepalese specialists interested in South Asia: it gives a good and accurate account of the historical events and provides general information on a wide range of quite disparate topics. The social scientist working on Nepal, however, whether anthropologist, sociologist or historian, will be more or less disappointed, as nothing very new comes out of this book and as no deep insight into Nepalese society is given. To take one example, a good contemporary history is one that illuminates the way the past embraces and informs the present. Unfortunately, this is not done here. There is no reflection on the difficulties of establishing democracy in the Nepali context, and on the structural causes of the multifaceted Maoist movement. Nepal is also a country of great variety and heterogeneity, which it has encompassed and preserved. Diverse systems and lifestyles coexisted, some anchored in pre-modern period, others in the very modern present. This coexistence is not stressed in the reviewed text. In the same way, important phenomena such as Nepali nationalism, links between the Terai and the hills (in spite of the front-page cover illustration's coming from Birganj), the political use of Nepali chronicles in the past, and so on are not given enough attention. Surprisingly, the name of Sylvain Lévi is nowhere cited, and his book on the *History of Nepal* is not referred to in the bibliography, in spite of his remarkably modern analysis of the Hinduization of the country. Instead, secondary sources and some third-rank publications are quoted at length. Furthermore, the page-numbers given in the index (at least in my South Asian copy) are rarely correct.

Note

¹ John Whelpton is the author of *Kings, Soldiers and Priests: Nepalese Politics and the Rise of Jang Bahadur Rana, 1830-1857* (1991) and *People, Politics and Ideology: Democracy and Social Change in Nepal* (1999, with the late Martin Hoftun and William Raeper).

– Gérard Toffin

Review Article

The Structure of Kiranti Languages: Comparative Grammar and Texts Karen H. Ebert. Zurich: ASAS, Universität Zurich, 1994. Pages: 283. ISBN 3-95-2010-5-2

Karen H. Ebert's grammar on Tibeto-Burman (T-B) Chianti languages (acronym *SKL: CGT*), to my knowledge is the first typological (although the term 'comparative grammar' has not strictly been used in Crystal's (1980: 66 and 362-363) sense grammar of such type on geographically less-accessible and 'nearly extinct' (Crystal 2000: 20) Kiranti languages (see Appendix A for their regional distribution) spoken in Eastern hills of Nepal from the Likhu river in the west plus across the Nepal border to north-east India viz., Sikkim and Darjeeling. Phylogenetically¹, the generic phyla 'Kiranti' under T-B sub-family, includes not less than thirty-two (cf. Rai 1985, Hanßon 1991a, Nishi 1992 and Pokharell 1994) scantily described languages. Or most of them are yet awaiting linguistic description and further documentation in any form of grammar or dictionary. To some extent, some of these languages have been investigated only recently after Allen's *A Sketch of Thulung Grammar* (1975) in the Kiranti linguistic literature.

Till the year 1994, all other grammatical descriptions and investigations were based on separate individual Kiranti languages, e.g. Toba 1984, Rai 1985, van Driem 1987 and 1993b, Michailovsky 1988, Ebert 1997a and Ebert 1997b. Besides these detailed works, there is a great deal of papers on several grammatical aspects of the Kiranti grammars published since the late 1960s and onwards. Therefore, I prefer to suggest Ebeq's grammar as the first typological account on the Kiranti languages because she has included six Kiranti languages viz., Khaling, Thulung, Camling [Tsamling], Athpare, Bantawa and Limbu (Phedappe dialect) for the purpose of describing the grammatical structures of these languages. A reader trained in linguistics will be amazed by very much similar and dissimilar grammatical features of these mutually unintelligible languages termed as 'Kiranti.'

The *SKL: CGT* has been organized in six chapters and two appendixes. In the first appendix, Appendix A (pp.140-150) verbal paradigms on person and number affixes, basic tense and negative paradigms only of Athpare and Bantawa have been outlined. The second appendix, Appendix B (pp.154-280) has included the texts from these languages and the sources of the texts are available in all languages except for Limbu. This grammar is the culmination of her fieldwork study in the eastern hills of Nepal mainly on Camling and Athpare languages and the rest of the data extracted are mainly from Allen (1975) for Thulung, Toba (1984) Khaling, Rai (1985) Bantawa and van Driem (1987) for Limbu. The narrative representation of fifteen myths and

Note

¹ John Whelpton is the author of *Kings, Soldiers and Priests: Nepalese Politics and the Rise of Jang Bahadur Rana, 1830-1857* (1991) and *People, Politics and Ideology: Democracy and Social Change in Nepal* (1999, with the late Martin Hoftun and William Raeper).

– Gérard Toffin

Review Article

The Structure of Kiranti Languages: Comparative Grammar and Texts Karen H. Ebert. Zurich: ASAS, Universität Zurich, 1994. Pages: 283. ISBN 3-95-2010-5-2

Karen H. Ebert's grammar on Tibeto-Burman (T-B) Chianti languages (acronym *SKL: CGT*), to my knowledge is the first typological (although the term 'comparative grammar' has not strictly been used in Crystal's (1980: 66 and 362-363) sense grammar of such type on geographically less-accessible and 'nearly extinct' (Crystal 2000: 20) Kiranti languages (see Appendix A for their regional distribution) spoken in Eastern hills of Nepal from the Likhu river in the west plus across the Nepal border to north-east India viz., Sikkim and Darjeeling. Phylogenetically¹, the generic phyla 'Kiranti' under T-B sub-family, includes not less than thirty-two (cf. Rai 1985, Hanßon 1991a, Nishi 1992 and Pokharell 1994) scantily described languages. Or most of them are yet awaiting linguistic description and further documentation in any form of grammar or dictionary. To some extent, some of these languages have been investigated only recently after Allen's *A Sketch of Thulung Grammar* (1975) in the Kiranti linguistic literature.

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folktales explicate the Kiranti peoples' cultural, social and political world-views.

The first chapter, 'Introductory Remarks' (pp.8-18), begins with a brief general observation and phonemic inventory of the six represented Kiranti languages. Some of her general conclusions are:

- a. many of these languages are not even known by name to the linguistic world.
- b. their phylogenetic grouping and sub-groupings proposed till today (cf. Grierson 1909, Benedict 1972, Shafer 1953, Matisoff 1978, Hanpon 1991a and van Driem 1992) are all rather tentative due to the poor documentation of most members of the group,
- c. most of them are threatened by extinction,
- d. are SOV languages with a rather strict order of modifiers before heads.
- e. South Eastern (SE) languages are mainly agglutinative and words can easily be split up into morphs, whereas the northern languages have more stem variation and portmanteau forms,
- f. verb is characterized by a complex system of person and number markers,
- g. agreement system is sensitive to the pragmatic constellation and agent-patient are usually marked on the verb,
- h. are morphologically ergative, where Camling and Thulung exhibit a split between speech act participants, whereas in Limbu pronouns and nouns,
- i. gender distinction is marginal,
- j. the coding of space is a fascinating part,
- k. make little use of converbs and participles in subordination- the northern and western languages somewhat more than the southern languages and Limbu. Hayu, the western-most language, has no converbs, but uses participles more frequently than Athpare and Camling [Tsamling]. Most subordinate clauses have fully inflected verbs followed by a case marker (often without and intervening nominalizer) or some other subordinator; and
- l. make extensive use of compound verbs (pp.8-10).

Apart from these general observations, Ebert has made some generalizations on the phonemic inventory part as well. These languages lack fricatives except for /s/ and /h/. Voiced stops are rare phonemes in the SE languages. Initial /g, gh, j, jh/ are restricted mainly to loan words. Her observation is only partially true, which will be explained later. In Limbu voiced stops are allophones of unvoiced consonants after nasal, glottal stop and in intervocalic position; the only voiced phoneme in final position is /b/ (la:b * la:ba (*Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary* (hereafter *LNED* 2002: 413 and 613) 'moon' vs. la:p 'wing'). In the northern languages Thulung and Khaling voiced and voiceless initials are approximately equal in frequency. Aspiration is phonemic in all the languages. Although these generalizations

seem to be simplistic at first sight, her phonemic inventory is in a loss at least in the case of Camling, Bantawa and Limbu as van Driem (1997: 474) points out, "Tibeto-Burman comparativists are at a loss to distinguish with confidence between loan words, the result of sound laws, and the effect of analogy". One obvious reason is mainly because there are no exhaustive research on the phonetics and phonology of these languages.

Till this date no linguist is confident on the possible total number of phonemes in any Kiranti language given to him/her whatever literature available. "The-elephant-and-the-blind man" principle is at work. Another reason of this inconsistency or loss is that it is difficult to find out sufficient or any written records of these languages. As a result, Ebert is also inconsistent while making the phoneme inventory of Camling [Tsamling]. In this grammar (pp.14), she has listed twenty-nine consonant phonemes, /p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, c, ch, j, jh, k, kh, g, s, h, m, mh, n, h, ŋ, ŋh, w, l, lh, r, rh, y/ and six vowels /a, e, i, o, u / having (A) as optional. This inventory is self-contradicted in her latter grammar of Camling (1997b: 8-10) in which she has mentioned thirty consonant phonemes out of which four phonemes, e.g. /j/ [dz], /jh/ [dzh], (p.9) and /gh/ as optional. The number of optional vowels is increased up to three, e.g. /ə, A and b/ (p.10). This inventory has been challenged with twenty-seven consonant and eight vowels by B.S. Yalungcha's *Tsamling-Nepali Dictionary*.

Ebert (p.14) is nearly accurate on listing the phonemes of Bantawa (p.16) but she has missed out one glottal stop (ʔ) phoneme, which has been listed in Oik Bantawa's (1998) grammar. Bantawa (ibid 2ft) has listed only six vowels, whereas Ebert has listed seven vowels with /A/ as optional (p.16). Similarly the *LNED* (2002) has over-shadowed all other previous available literature on the Limbu language and linguistics. Ebert's grammar is no such exception. The *LNED* (p.19) has listed twenty-five consonants out of which nine are allophones and only sixteen consonants have phonemic status, whereas Ebert (p.140) has listed eighteen consonants as phonemes. The number of vowels is also inconsistent between Ebert (p.16) and the *LNED* (p.19). This could have been examined closely and explained or justified if she had provided the distribution of phonemes accounted with considerable data. To add one more phonological feature of the Kiranti languages is that all of them are not tone-prone.

At the end of this chapter, the author has provided some additional notes on the phonemic transcription of Limbu, Bantawa, Thulung, Khaling and Nepali. She has critically pointed out that although N.K. Rai's (1985) dissertation differentiates between apico-alveolar (OFF) and dental stops (dʈ), there seem to be no nominal pair (p.17) of *O-T* in Bantawa. Ebert's another clarification is on the orthography of Roman-Gurkhali 'ch' unaspirated and 'chh' aspirated to the transcribed as /c/ and /ch/ respectively in accordance with linguistic convention. But ironically her own transcription of [tsamling]

has been misunderstood as [kremlin] by her book reviewers (Bhattarai and Vihwol 1999: 135-137). These transcription notes have justified her consistent transcription in the grammar in relation to its phonetic literature available.

In chapter 2, 'The verb' (pp.19-74) focuses on stems and their variation, transitive/intransitive and causative stems, non/finite forms, person and number affixes, basic tense, mood, converbs, participles, compound verbs and so on. Like Nettle's (1999:5) concept of a human linguistic pool, Kiranti languages are amazingly linked to each other in their linguistic pool. Here is an example of infinitive marker from the morphology of these languages: Limbu [Yakthumba] '-ma', Athapare '-ma', Bantawa '-ma', Rodung [Camling] '-ma', Thulung '-mu', Khaling '-na' (p.55), Wambule [RaDhu] '-cam', Jerung '-kha' (Rai 2002), and Kõits [Sunuwar] '-ca' and Bayung [Bahing] 'co' (my data). But on the contrary, Rai's (2002) data on Khaling '-ne' contradicts with that of Ebert. Although Ebert's data is based on secondary source, it seems to a certain extent that the western linguists also tend to nativise the Kiranti phonology, as they prefer to call them aliens or exotic or heathen at their own ease. Another point where she has missed to tap the Camling nativizing morphemes are: '-muna' and '-ba/lama' misinterpreted as auxiliary. There is another dialectal variation '-bala' of these indivisible nativizing morphemes.

Similarly, chapter 3 explores pronouns, number, gender, numerals, classifiers, case/direction markers and nominalizing morphemes. All these languages represented here have first person dual exclusive -inclusive, and first person plural exclusive -inclusive distinction. All of them have three (singular, dual, plural) numbers. Possessive prefix for first person singular '-a' is common for all these languages except for Bantawa '-in'. Classifiers and numbers are 'seldom used' (p.79) in those languages. Contrary to Ebert's claim, some Western Kiranti languages like Wambule [RaDhu] and Kõits [Sunuwar] use 'nimpha' as numeral classifier and most of these languages have numbers for counting in order to meet their communication needs. The only reason these languages might have used Indo-Aryan Nepali numbers while communicating because of the country's assimilative socio-politico-historical and monolithic language policy adopted for 230 years of history.

Chapter 4, 'Deixis and location' (pp.90-99) describes the fascinating part of space coding in Kiranti. They distinguish high, low and level locative in vertical case. Adverbs are always preceded by deictic plus verticality. At least three types of vertical verbs are common in Kiranti. But Ebert's data on Camling (Chamling) and Bantawa for 'up above' contradict to each other with that of Rai (2002). This contradiction has created confusion for a comparativist typologist reader and researcher as well. Her data 'pyupa-mo' cow-GEN (p.99) and 'gai-wa' cow-ERG (p.100) has lost its consistency in vocabulary use and semantic aspects.

Chapter 5, 'Simple sentences' (pp.100-111) and chapter 6, 'Complex sentences' (p.112-137) are interrelated to each other exploring all possible syntactic structures in Kiranti. The basic word order is s(ubject), o(bject) and v(erb). This order of Kiranti satisfies Greenberg's non-absolute universal 5 and 21 (Song 2001: 6-7 and Comrie 1981:19) having postposition and the 'np' order string as-

{DEM+GEN/poss (pron)} +NUM +ADJ/ATTR +poss (prefix) +N'
(p.100).

The Kiranti copula and comparative structures, as case markers in Athpare, Camling and Thulung '-lai' (Nep p.81) in chapter 3, have freely borrowed comparative markers in their structure, e.g. 'bhanda' (pp.106-7 Nep.) in Athpare and Bantawa. So does Camling in its reportive particle 'raicha' (pp. 191-240 text and wherever text cited). The ergative constructions exhibit a pattern of split ergativity based on a person hierarchy. As a result, ergativity is rather superficial trait of Kiranti morphology, where all third person or demonstratives are marked but not all first persons.

The complex sentences in Kiranti are basically of two types on the basis of degree of reduction. In the non-finite verb, which does not carry finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (p.112). These sorts of clauses are maximally reduced, whereas the minimally reduced clauses are finite. This trait occurs only in Athpare (ibid). Ebert's generalization of western and northern languages generally and frequently having non-finite clauses, e.g. Hayu (which is not represented in the grammar) is mentioned only by way of reference without data for evidence. Her hasty claim that Kiranti has no coordination of sentence (p.12) is partially justifiable. The origin of subordinators in Kiranti, are commonly case markers and inflectional morphemes. In most Kiranti languages, the variational functions thus differ semantically (Matisoff 1978) of these verb inflections, e.g. '-sa' in Kiranti changes its meaning as a chameleon in pragmatically-oriented use.

As a whole, the SKI: CGr is magnum opus. The students of T-B linguistics in general and researches on T-B Kiranti languages in particular can immensely take advantage of it. Naturally, this is purely a linguistic description by a professional linguist and has less applicability in pedagogy. Thus, it is almost not accessible for the general readers. But one can easily extract material or structures out of this grammar for the purpose of writing a pedagogical grammar.

The linguistic map (p.9) of the T-B Kiranti languages has provided a fair idea of geographical location of these languages where spoken. However, the book has no single photographs of informants and has no index in it. If the author has included index, it would have facilitated reading. So far as the glossing is concerned, she used the interlinear translation (IT) programme developed by SIL (1998 version) except for Athpare. This has been done nicely. While reading and observing the narrative texts, one can actually trace

the influence of the behaviourist method which had entered linguistics via Bloomfield's writings itself manifested slogan as, "accept everything a native speaker says in his language and nothing he says about it" (quoted in Sampson 1980:64). This influence has possessed confusion and ambiguity in Ebert's grammar, e.g., phonemic inventory (pp.13-18), 'bra vs. kwam' (p.85), 'ghum-balam' (p.72) in Camling blocks the phonemic inventory. The contradiction with Dik Bantawa's (1998:34) 2sG imsa vs. imse 'sleep' (nos. I-Viii) means the data have to be rectified and accept what the native speakers say about their language. Another problem in her grammar is the free intervention of the Nepali loans which these languages have their own native vocabulary, e.g. 'sya?!' (Nep. p. 81) and 'ghDr' (p.124). The LNED (2002: 57 and 672) has listed the native vocabulary 'Kidhi:ppa or Kidhiruppa' for 'jackle'. It has posed a serious problem of linguistic identity in Camling as well as in Athpare also. Ebert's glossing -MAN (p.70) has not been mentioned in abbreviations. There is one typing error apetivizer* (p.7). Some of her sentences, e.g. mi-kota-hige 'you have seen it' (p.46) is not free from grammatical lapses to which Abbi (1994:77) phrases as 'ungrammatical bag'.

Despite such negligible errors of a linguist as non-native speaker, it suffices to say that Ebert's effort is Herculean. Moreover, it would have been more Herculean-like if she had added only one or two languages from Wallo Kirant 'Hither Kirant' (Grierson 1909: 274 and 316) like that of Michailovky's 'Phonological typology of Nepal languages' (1998) so that a considerable number of Kiranti languages would see the daylight of the western as well as eastern world of linguistics and linguists. The representation of only six out of not less than thirty-two T-B Kiranti languages is meager if not mean. The larger representation of the 6 languages would mean the more accurate comparison and generalizations. However, Ebert's grammar has its own place in the literature of Kiranti Linguistics.

Note

Some examples of Kiranti languages from Wallo Kirant (Western Kiranti) include:

Jerung, Kõits (Sunuwar), Bayung and Wambule (RaDhu) by way of crossreference in our discussion

Notes

1. The term 'phylogenetic' has preferably been used by Nettle (1999: 115) after Nicholas' (1990) term 'genetic' in order to avoid confusion with genetics in the sense of DNA. Therefore, I have also here replaced Ebert's 'genetic' with phylogenetic.
2. The first draft of this review was submitted to Prof. Dr. Anvita Ahbi, Centre of Linguistics and English, Jawaharlal Nehru University for MPhil/PhD coursework (Course LE630E Structures of Lesser Known Languages) evaluation in March 2003. It was slightly revised in June 2004.

Appendix A: Regional distribution of Kiranti languages in East Nepal

Wallo Kirant (Western Kiranti)	Majh Kirant (Central Kiranti)	Pallo Kirant (Eastern Kiranti)
1. Khaling	1. Sangpang	1. Lohorung (North)
2. Dumi	2. Kulung	2. Lohorung (South)
3. Koi (Koyu)	3. Nachering	3. Yamphu/Yamphe/ Newahang
4. Bayung (Bahing)	4. Mewahang	4. Limbu
5. Thulung	5. Saam/Pongyong	5. Chathare
6. Kõits	6. Cukwa/Pohing	6. Athpare
7. Lingkhim	7. Dungmali/	7. Chhilling/ Chhulung/ Chhitang
8. Hayu	8. Waling	8. Mugali
9. RaDhu (Wambule)	9. Khandung	9. Phangduwali
10. Jerung	10. Bantawa	10. Lumba-Yakkha
11. Tilung (Tilling)	11. Puma	11. Yakkha
12. Coskule (no data)	12. Chamling	12. Belhare
13. Dorungkeca (not data)		

Cited also in Gurung 2004: 61 from Gerd Hanßon 1991a)

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— Lal Rapacha

Notes to Contributors

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